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THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW

OCTOBER, 1928

PRINCIPAL LINDSAY'S LETTERS

WE owe much both to the writer and the editor of these letters.¹ Principal Lindsay spent his life in the service of the Free Church College at Glasgow, of which he was one of the teachers from 1871 to his death in December, 1914. His *Church and the Ministry in the Early Centuries* is a scholarly and broad-minded study of the organized life of the early Christian Society, which owed not a little to twelve months which he spent in India, as Convener of the Foreign Missionary Committee of his Church, in examining the methods, work, and results of various missions. It appeared in 1902, the year in which he was chosen Principal of his College. In 1906 and 1907 the two volumes of his masterpiece, *A History of the Reformation*, set their seal on his rank as a Church historian. Those who feel under a debt to these two works will find that they come into close touch with their author in these letters. Mrs. Ross herself is well known to readers of George Meredith's letters. She is the daughter of Sir Alexander Duff Gordon, who was Meredith's neighbour at Weybridge and afterwards at Esher. Mr. William Meredith says: 'In so far as Meredith ever drew his characters direct from life, Janet Duff Gordon was his model for Rose Jocelyn in *Evan Harrington*, whilst her father and mother are pictured as Sir Frank and Lady Jocelyn. In 1860 she married Mr. Ross, head of the firm of Briggs & Co., bankers at Alexandria. He took part, with

¹ *Letters of Principal T. M. Lindsay to Janet Ross.* (Constable & Company, 1928.)

Layard, in the excavations at Nineveh. Mrs. Ross was for three years *The Times* correspondent at Alexandria, and after leaving Egypt in 1867 settled with her husband on the outskirts of Florence. Her books on Florence and *The Fourth Generation: Reminiscences* have made her literary reputation, and her friendship with Dr. Lindsay has found delightful record in this volume of his letters.

She has allowed them to speak for themselves, giving in her Preface the outstanding facts of the writer's life and his brave defence of Robertson Smith in 1881. Mrs. Ross says: 'I first met Dr. Lindsay in 1906, at the house of a mutual friend, Mrs. MacDougall, and was at once attracted by his very blue eyes. He was introduced as Dr. Lindsay, which said little to me, as there are many doctors in the world—of medicine, philosophy, law, &c.—and after a little conversation I felt sure that we had much in common, and invited him to come and stay at Poggio Gherardo. That was the beginning of a friendship which lasted until his death. Would that I had known him sooner!' Dr. Lindsay spent May with her, and returned for some weeks in the autumn. These visits were repeated every year. Mrs. Ross did not know at first that he was a minister and Principal of the Glasgow College, but she says: 'Never was a more delightful companion—interested in everything, incisive and witty in speech, hating sentimentalism and pretence, yet abounding in kindness. In spite of oft-recurring, severe fits of asthma, he had been a great traveller in Greece, Asia Minor, the Lebanon, India, and Italy, making friends wherever he went with men of every class.' They visited Lucca and Ravenna together, and one summer Mrs. Ross stayed with him in Glasgow, where his delightful talk in the cosy study lined with books made her forget the cold and wet of that Scottish August.

In the first letter dated '37 Westbourne Gardens, Glasgow, November 10, 1906,' he refers to the fact that Mrs. Ross had invited him to her house before she knew

he was a minister : ' I really ought to apologize for coming to you as a wolf in sheep's clothing ; but I dislike uniforms of all kinds, and never wear clerical dress out of Scotland. They are quite a nuisance in travelling. A clerical garb is a sort of placard, " Inquire here for everything," especially to ladies, who demand strings, paper, ink, and pens, the names of hotels, the proper tips to give, &c. I remember once at Waterloo Station, when I was in uniform, a very ecclesiastical lady accosting me. " Are you a Churchman, sir ? " I naturally said " Yes," forgetting for the moment that I was in a foreign land, then, recollecting, said : " I am a Presbyterian." The poor thing was quite dismayed at contact with a schismatic, and gasped out, " Bu—bu—but perhaps you can tell me the way to the Underground Railway ? " Apostolic succession was not needed to give correct information on that point at least.'

A few days later he sends jottings from eight huge folios : ' Do not thank me for them ; but thank tobacco. I read over the books while I take my morning smoke, and write out the extracts in the half-hour after dinner.' He discusses the story of the Pisans carrying away the pandects from Amalfi in 1135, and alludes to Mrs. Ross's troubles about statistics. ' I think no one can accept mediaeval or even classical statistics, only no one can correct them. Of course, it has to be remembered that hordes came from Europe on foot. Pope Urban himself confessed that if the first hordes did not recover the Holy Sepulchre, their march eastward benefited Europe. It was a general jail delivery of Europe, he said. And Bernard said something the same of a later Crusade. Then on shipboard men packed close in those days and later. Think of the number Francis Drake stowed on board his small ships. Still, when all is said, I never read about the Crusades without recalling the confession an old Admiral made to me, a stripling. He was a devout old naval officer, and read his Bible with great assiduity—most of it, that is, not all. He

got no spiritual contentment out of Joshua or Judges. "When I come to these books," he said, "the numbers get so *high* and the morals so *low* that I can't stand it." The narratives of the Crusades are not unlike Joshua and Judges.'

He sends her the first volume of his *History of the Reformation*, which has been 'received with too great approbation,' and reports that he has 'just finished the hateful, almost interminable task of making an Index to the second volume.' He is busy inserting names which the map-maker could not discover, and finds it curious to see a map in the process of making. He has to shade the whole with coloured chalks to show where the 'various forms of error'—whether of Canterbury, Geneva, or Münster—most thickly gathered. 'So to-morrow I shall be seated at a big table with a box of chalks beside me, and shall be able to fancy myself quite equal to Miss Erichsen as an "illustrator of books"—that is what I think she calls herself. Lastly, I have to mark all the names to be printed in black. *They* make a sort of aristocracy of names, for they have the honour to be mentioned in my book. The mere commonalty—i.e. those not mentioned—are only fit to be represented in grey. Class distinctions will appear even in this democratic age.'

The letters pass rapidly from grave to gay. A master-mason with whom he travelled in the tram-car in December, 1906, regarded the action of the House of Lords in throwing out the Education Bill with mingled sorrow and anger: 'That House of Lords is a fair *abnomably*.' That seemed to Dr. Lindsay to be a mixture of 'abomination' and 'anomaly,' and he meant to treasure it for use in other circumstances. His next letter reports a curious discovery which he had made in Glasgow, of all places in the world. It was the hymn-book of a mediaeval sect called in various countries Lollards, Hussites, Waldenses. Dr. Lindsay knew that such a book had been printed about 1530, but had hunted for it in vain at the British Museum and the National Library

in Paris. The Royal Library in Berlin had an imperfect copy. He found the Glasgow copy in the library of a technical college devoted to electricity, chemistry, and the like. It had once belonged to Sebastian Bach, who had been struck by its plaintive music. A Glasgow merchant bought it, with many other books on hymnology and music, from the library of Canon Havergill of Worcester. This is evidently meant for Frances Havergal's father, who was Hon. Canon of Worcester. Dr. Burney knew the copy, but how it came to Canon Havergal's hands has not been ascertained.

When Mrs. Ross reported that she had been entertaining some carriages full of American women, the Principal replied: 'I have no doubt that you charmed them; but at what a cost! Why does the average American do two very objectionable things—pay one compliments to one's face in the most deliberate way and also demand categorical answers to conundrums of thought or what they consider thinking? I went one day to lunch with an American lady and her companion. What do you think of this? "Dr. Lindsay, will you give me in one clear, succinct paragraph a summary of your views on the bringing up of children?" "Certainly; I'll give you them in two words: 'Wholesome neglect.'" "Oh, Maria" (this to the companion), "would not Amelia D. Parkes call that answer perfectly lovely?" What can you do with such people save resolve to keep as far away from them as possible? But some Americans, men and women, are the most delightful persons one can meet.'

Mrs. Ross told him that being alone so much had made her selfish, but her friend answered that he looked on her as among the most unselfish persons he had ever met, and added: 'It does me ever so much good to know you, I know that.' He reports that the Archbishop of Canterbury had recommended his clergy at Croydon to study Dr. Lindsay's *History of the Reformation*. 'He was perfectly

clear that the more they studied that and saw what the relation of the new-found robustness of thought was to the needs of the world then they would find its bearing upon the needs of England to-day.' A copy had been bought for the Vatican Library, and Professor Marucchi was instructed to review it. Dr. Lindsay was curious as to the review. 'I met him in Rome and had some talk with him. I remember asking him point blank why he had written that the Scala Santa was a staircase brought from Palestine when it was manifestly mediaeval, and he told me, with a movement of the shoulders, that the faith of the people must not be disturbed. We had another talk about a catacomb painting, when he made the same answer. A man who is not bigotedly truthful—*non superstitione verax*, as Erasmus said.'

One passage throws light on an author's problems. He had to describe in a single chapter the state of paganism in the Roman Empire in the second and third centuries, and was unable to get on. 'Curiously, I scarcely knew why I was so incapable. Now I have discovered, as by a flash of realization. The one great fact is that Oriental religions from Egypt (Isis and Serapis), from Syria (Dea Syra), from Asia Minor (Cybele, Attis, &c.), from Persia (Mithras), were driving out the paganism of Rome and Greece, and that while the old religions were officially maintained the people in mass flung themselves into the new cults. I had accumulated lots of details from contemporary authorities, but I always felt I lost the thread on which to string the beads. All modern writers on the subject, German and French (there is no English), declare that these religions had no relation whatever to those of Greece and Rome. I could not accept this view; I knew I had some reason away in the back of my head, but I could not find the clue. It had gone completely. On Tuesday I suddenly remembered. When at Delphi Sandy and I climbed Parnassus as far as the "Cave of Pan and the Nymphs." It was there where

the great triennial Dionysus festival took place. When on the spot Indian analogies came into my mind. That was the clue I had lost. So I am going over my authorities again and finding it very pleasant—as easy as it had formerly been difficult. I'll work it all out before I write. But what will the scholars say? Not that one need mind.'

In April, 1908, he spent six days in London, when the breathlessness and lassitude which had troubled him all the winter vanished. 'For a good "health-resort" there is no place like the British Museum.' When he got back to Glasgow he was beset by those who would not take responsibility even for trifles. 'It is very annoying, as I want to write and cannot get sitting at the typewriter for half an hour in peace. Every one seems to think that because the session is over, and I am no longer lecturing, that I have twenty-four hours of the day at their disposal. It is very hard to keep one's temper. Well, well, it is soon coming to an end.'

Another letter shows the writer's tastes and hobbies. Lady Duff Gordon wrote in the summer of 1908 to ask him to tell her of books where she could get genuine 'Directoire' costume. He was able to direct her to a new German historical work of costumes which covered her period, and sent her a French catalogue which contained some books figuring ladies' dresses during the Directorate and the First Empire. 'Then came a curious thing. I do not know whether you know the streets about the British Museum. They are full of queer little shops, where all kinds of out-of-the-way things are sold. I take a childish delight in looking into shop windows. Gazing into one—a photograph shop—I saw a picture postcard which dealt with costume. So I went in and asked to see their selection of postcards which contained costumes. I found an album containing one specimen only of costumes from Marie Antoinette's time down to the Empire of Louis Napoleon and Eugénie. The

shop-woman told me that they had only bought one of each and that they had not sold, so I promptly bought seventy-four, almost their whole stock. I got the address of the Paris firm, and Lady Duff Gordon says she will buy the whole set, which numbers, I think, about 450. If she gets them she will have a marvellously cheap history of costume. So valuable were they that she at once designed a dress from one striking Directoire picture, and I was invited to see it in embryo. You will think me an old goose when I tell you that I was quite delighted to see an old design which I had thus secured exactly reproduced.' Mrs. Ross need not wonder at his ability to answer Lady Duff Gordon's inquiries, 'It has always been a weakness of mine to be quite unable to write about any period without being able to see in my mind's eye the people of the time. So I *must* know how they dressed. I fancy that this habit enables one to write a little more vividly.' The gift had its troublesome side, for he had had to lay aside a paper intended for the *Contemporary Review* because he could not see in his eye how the nuns were dressed. He sends a copy to his friend of the elaborate notes he had written on Paris dressmakers in the time of Marie Antoinette and after, and could not help laughing at himself because he was able to supply the information.

The letters draw many vivid pictures. His old friend Robert Monteith Smith visited Constantinople in 1908. The Sultan had one of the most repulsive faces he ever saw. 'Every line of it denotes cruelty.' The Young Turks had a 'wholesale affection for and admiration of the English,' and an intense hatred of the Germans. Another letter refers to a sportsman to whom he had given a letter of introduction to Dr. Albert Shaw, an intimate friend of President Roosevelt. When Dr. Shaw found that his visitor had shot 105 wild elephants in Central Africa, besides no end of rhinoceroses, &c., he promptly introduced him to Roosevelt, who was not content till he had the sportsman and his wife, the first white woman to see Lake Tanganyika, as guests at the

White House, where they had endless talks about elephants and elephant shooting.

Dr. Robertson Nicoll spent two days in 1908 with Professor G. A. Smith in order to see the working of Dr. Lindsay's College, 'which is something of a model. He told me he now understood our secret. Every little thing was looked after; the professors were all affectionate friends, without any jealousy of each other; the students are devoted to their teachers and are eager to do something for them, &c., &c. So it is worth while to look after small things, the neglect of which is like sand in machinery.' Besides this may be set the reference to Miss Stoddart. He thanks Mrs. Ross for sending a review of *The Girlhood of Mary Queen of Scots*. 'Miss Stoddart's is an excellent book. She has worked over the original sources, both printed and MS., with very great care. She is a capital linguist, and reads old MSS. very easily, especially French MSS. of the sixteenth century.'

In January, 1909, the Principal was lecturing on the Puritan movement in England, including the foundation of New England. 'The art of college lecturing,' he says, 'is to speak slowly—how slowly novices can never understand; of course, the information has also to be given in compressed form. When I see that anything is not understood, I interpolate a couple of minutes' verbal explanation; when the subject is dull I rest the class by some anecdote of the times. So they are not note-taking at the stretch all the time. Such are the tricks of one's trade. Don't laugh at me too much. It is curious that many strong voices have not so much carrying power as others that do not seem nearly so strong. Mine is anything but a strong voice, but I have no cause to fear speaking in any place, however large.'

One letter furnishes an interesting study of Lorenzo de' Medici. 'On the one side he was perhaps the foremost man of his time, the ablest politician in Italy, with his heart set on preserving the political balance of the peninsula and

therefore of keeping peace and encouraging art, literature, and science. He believed that this could only be done by securing the pre-eminence of himself and of his family in Florence; and in this he was probably correct. On the other hand, he was no shrewd man of business, and could not make money as a private citizen in the way his fathers had done. Money was indispensable to him, and he found it in the pockets of his fellow citizens. Hence his government of Florence, ostensibly a Republic, had to be supported by filling every office with his own creatures, by means of whom he manipulated as he liked the resources of the citizens, and drew their money largely into his own possession by all kinds of dodges. While his forefathers lived on their private trade as merchants and bankers, he lived on pillaging his fellow citizens after the manner of an American "boss." He believed that this was necessary for Florence and for Italy. Still, it was rather a mean sort of slavery for the Florentines to endure, though it might be for their good. If I am correct, you can easily see how quite unprejudiced men like Villari and Symonds can see two sides in Lorenzo, one to be praised and the other to be denounced. If the famous interview between Lorenzo and Savonarola at the deathbed of the former can be true, I can sympathize with both. I can admire Savonarola, with his stern sense of abstract right, refusing to absolve the man whom he believed to be enslaving the Florentines; and I can sympathize with the practical politician who refused to give the pledge Savonarola demanded, for he knew that it would involve not only his own downfall, but the disappearance of that political guidance which was preserving Italy from internal anarchy and from falling a prey to foreign invaders. That's my own idea; but I do not know that it is worth very much.'

Later he reports: 'Yesterday and to-day I'm working at the personal character of Julian. He was so blessed or so banned by his contemporaries, as they were pagans or

Christians, that one can hardly get a sight of the real man. Very few of his own writings survive, and they are rather feeble; but luckily there is one honest writer—plainly honest; a pagan, but a straightforward soldier—Ammianus Marvellinus. He was a great admirer of the young man, but esteemed him for his powers as a leader of men and an administrator, while he pokes fun shyly at his philosophy and fondness for magic of all kinds.'

In October, 1909, he writes that George Adam Smith has been offered the Principalship of Aberdeen University. 'Smith is the most noted Hebraist and Arabist in Great Britain. His going breaks the quartette which has made our little College so famous.' It is interesting to read another passage. In January, 1910, on the authority of the brother of one of the highest permanent officials in the Treasury, he learns that 'the portion of the Budget which has brought the execrations of the Tory Press on Lloyd George's head was the authorship of Mr. Asquith himself; and that Mr. Lloyd George's Limehouse speech, which was the beginning of the fiercest attacks on him, was carefully prepared for him by one of the most trusted officials at the Treasury, who is privately and personally a Conservative. So there is a little bit of behind-the-scenes information for you which must be quite correct.'

One letter gives a pleasing account of the rise of a great artist. A friend in New York, in 1911, met Professor Beckswith, of the Academy of Art, who told her that he and some other students in Paris formed a studio to work under Carolus Duran. 'One day an elderly gentleman with a tall lanky son, carrying a huge portfolio, presented themselves and asked to see Carolus Duran. Beckswith asked them to wait till the "Master" had done criticizing his pupils, and set them down on two chairs. Presently the "Master" came and sat down beside the strangers, and asked to see what was in the portfolio. As he looked at the wonderfully clever drawings and water-colours by the lad of seventeen

his eyes grew bigger and bigger, and he called his class round him to admire them also. The strangers were John Sargent and his father. The lad was instantly admitted to the studio. Old Sargent did not like leaving so young a lad all by himself in Paris, so before he left he arranged that his boy should "chum" with Beckswith, and the two lived for some years together. Sargent told Beckswith that he owed all his talent to his mother, who was a wonderful water-colourist, and who had taught him from childhood to draw and paint in water-colours; that she was the only master he had till he came to Paris.'

When the Great War began he was at Orange, and the party had to hurry to Avignon to enable their chauffeur to join his regiment and to prevent the car being requisitioned before they returned it. After three weeks at Avignon they managed to get on to Lyons, and reached London by the Havre route. Dr. Lindsay was crushed in a great crowd for three hours before he could get on the steamer, and when he reached the deck he fell exhausted, having dropped hand-bag and greatcoat in the crowd from sheer weariness. Two English ladies revived him with copious rubbing of eau-de-Cologne, and he managed to sit on deck. He reached Glasgow safely, but, as the doctor said, 'abominably tired.' He was hard at work in October, till he was laid aside by a sharp attack of his old enemy, asthma. He took his classes again in November, but his strength had been undermined, and the yellow fogs made him weak and breathless. He wrote his last letter to Mrs. Ross on November 28, 1914, and ten days later finished a life crowded with fruitful work and rich in friends and influence.

JOHN TELFORD.

FREEDOM AND CONSCIOUSNESS

I. It is inevitable that the problem of freedom should recur from time to time, presenting itself at successive stages of thought from new angles and with new emphases. Particularly does it command attention at the present time, when science and philosophy alike are converging upon the study of human nature, and psychology has become one of the foremost subjects in general interest. For as we ourselves become more and more the objects of scientific inquiry, the task of reconciling the view of ourselves unfolded thereby with the view of ourselves which fills the horizon of our own self-consciousness becomes increasingly urgent. We become aroused to the necessity of defending those practical values which constitute the meaning and worth of ordinary life against the real or supposed assault of scientific theories that would demonstrate us to be something different from what we would fain assume ourselves to be.

What is of supreme worth to a man is the possession and command of his own soul. 'Autonomy is the foundation of the moral value of man.' There are two ways of attempting to defend this our claim to freedom. The first is by isolating the threatened consciousness upon a plane above the reach of desecrating inquiry, claiming that the idea of freedom belongs to the sphere of ethics, and that psychology has nothing to do with the question of its ultimate validity; that the sense of freedom is a 'value-judgement,' i.e. that it is a moral necessity to treat ourselves and others as free agents, and that even if our freedom lies beyond the range of scientific demonstration it is equally beyond the range of scientific demolition. This line of defence is right in its claim that the last word on the question of our freedom does not rest with psychology. Even if it

¹ Kant, *Metaphysics of Morality*, 1867, p. 284.

brings in the verdict of 'not proven' the appeal can be carried to a higher court. Psychology, as a science, shares in the strict and legitimate restriction of scope, and uses the abstract methods characteristic of scientific inquiry. There are factors outside the range of the science of the mind that can claim to weigh equally with any that it may bring to light. Dr. William Brown justly says: 'The essence of personality can never be revealed by psychology alone. Truth, beauty, goodness, and holiness all transcend the conditions of time, space, and causality, within which merely psychological explanations move.'

On the other hand, although psychology cannot claim the last word on the subject it has a right to be heard. To exclude psychological evidence is to make again the Kantian schism between the world of phenomena and the world of reality. Such a schism cannot be the end of the matter to minds in which individuality is the essence of selfhood.

To me, who must be saved because I cling with my mind
To the same, same self. . . .

We ourselves belong to the natural as well as to the spiritual order. We must either, therefore, deny validity to the findings of psychology, and treat them as an illusory system of thought, or else, if they are admitted, because they are concerned with the nature of the self they will inevitably modify our idea of ourselves. The stroke that cuts the Gordian knot by a rigid separation of moral and psychological considerations cleaves the self as well, for both are concerned with aspects of the same personality.

The alternative is to face the findings of disinterested psychological inquiry and to attempt to reconcile them with the postulates of the moral consciousness. This is the line along which study is now moving. The trend of religious and moral philosophy is in the direction of fuller use of psychological and anthropological material as a

¹ *Suggestion and Mental Analysis*, 1922, p. 166.

basis of their constructive work, for although their method and interest are different from those of psychology, they are interdependent with them.

Contemporary discussion of the problem of freedom is chiefly concerned with the contribution which the new psychology is making to the questions of motive and causation in human action through its study of the influence of subconscious factors in conduct. It is always difficult to estimate the significance of movements of thought manifest in our own day. Data and conclusions alike have still to be winnowed by further experimental inquiry and systematized in consistent doctrinal form. Meanwhile, under the aegis of the comprehensive title 'new psychology,' are gathered diverse and even conflicting schools of thought, varying in their attitude on the question of freedom from rigid physiological determinism to the type of view expressed by Dr. Brown: 'Modern psychology deepens the problem through its more profound insight into the complexity of individual experience. In recognizing the existence of subconscious motives and subconscious sources of power and inspiration, it widens the scope of the concepts of freedom, moral responsibility, and intellectual and aesthetic insight.'¹ It is possible, however, to indicate the general trend of recent psychology, and discuss some of the questions raised by the new orientation of interest it manifests.

We noticed that in general the field of inquiry of the new psychology is the area of phenomena lying on the borderline or below the level of consciousness—the realm of instinct and impulse, where springs of affective and conative energy, and the latent yet eruptive forces of repressed desire lie hidden amongst the buried stuff of memory. It has been occupied in large measure with those cases in which the origin of emotion and impulse is most obscure, and in which, at the same time, their irruptive energy is most violent, viz.

¹ *Loc. cit.*

in abnormal and pathological cases. This concentration of interest is a legitimate method of study, in that the phenomena of subconsciousness may, in some respects, best be examined in cases where they are least controlled and modified or disguised by the normal processes of consciousness. It has not only contributed to the better understanding and treatment of abnormal cases, in which influences for which moral responsibility cannot be imputed determine conduct, and in which pity is more deserved than censure, and sympathetic treatment more appropriate than punishment, but it has also shed light on the operation of obscure factors in more normal cases. We may assess without further argument at least one contribution the new psychology has made to the study of the problem of freedom. It has given pause to the hasty censures of a rule-of-thumb morality that would judge all cases alike by a common standard; for, since it has demonstrated that there are degrees of abnormality covering the whole distance between complete mental health and patent insanity, so there are degrees of moral responsibility. Not a blind justice, but Omniscience alone, avails to weigh responsibility and judge the individual soul aright.

There are dangers, however, in protracted concentration upon one particular range of mental types. The psychologist whose studies are dominated by interest in the abnormal or the subconscious may easily lose perspective. He will naturally look for the causes of mental phenomena within his own particular sphere, and may be tempted to over-simplification or over-elaboration along a single line in his explanation of conduct. The physician may become obsessed by his study of disease to such an extent that the world becomes for him one vast hospital; but that is hardly a complete or satisfactory view. Life is not just a mental ward in which scientific explanation and treatment may oust moral judgement and discipline. '*Tout connaître, c'est tout pardonner*' is a half-truth that may belittle human nature in forgiving it. The

study of the normal may be at least as informing as the study of the abnormal, and is certainly a necessary corrective to the conclusions of those whose chief studies have been pathological. To neglect the effective causality of consciousness may be as fatal to sound judgement as to ignore the influence of subconsciousness. Doubtless it is tempting to those whose work has lain in the department of mental physiology or the practice of psycho-therapeutics to interpret mental processes and conduct from the point of view of psycho-physical determinism, and assign to consciousness the minor rôle of finding excuses for actions the true causes of which (they will demonstrate) lie in some innate tendency, or hidden neurosis, or even in some morbid condition of the thyroid gland. But a summary dismissal of consciousness at the dictates of a new and limited enthusiasm can hardly be permitted. Simplification may be achieved too easily by ignoring complicating factors and reducing everything forcibly and prematurely to one common denominator. It will at least be wise to examine again the function of consciousness in the determination of conduct and its relation to subconscious factors. It is within the sphere of consciousness, if anywhere, that we may expect to find clues to the nature of freedom, for as Bergson teaches, the conscious character of activity is the measure of its indetermination.¹

II. Modern psychology commences its study of the human mind, not with the inquiry into the origin and growth of cognitive experience from sensation and sense-perception to imagination and ideal construction, treating emotion and desire as the epiphenomena of thought, but with a deeper study of innate characteristics of the mind. Psychic experience is a relationship of interaction between the self and the world, in which the character of the self is as important a factor as the character of the world. The mind is not a *tabula rasa*, presenting a colourless surface on which the record of cognitive experience is inscribed—a cold mirror

¹ *Matter and Memory.*

of ideas. Any view of emotion which treats it as merely a quality of perception or the colouring matter of an idea, or of desire which considers it only as a form of ideo-motor action, or of the will which defines it simply as a species of attention, is far too incomplete to provide a satisfactory theory of action. It is true that every idea tends to move to action, but the idea by itself (if such an abstraction has any independent existence) is not the source of the energy; it is only a stimulus which awakens energy latent in the constitution of the percipient mind. The primary sources of energy are instincts, i.e. innate tendencies to action which await the appropriate perceptual experience to arouse them. These are the original 'stuff' of the soul. The recognition of this fact involves a question of vital importance for our discussion. If action is the result of the interplay of the stimulus of consciousness and the energy of unconscious or latent innate dispositions of the mind, which is the dominant partner? Given the appropriate stimulus, does the impulse move inevitably along a determined line of reaction? What, for instance, is to prevent me from running away if I am afraid? Can an instinct be controlled and directed in its action by another force, or is its action merely modified by combination with other instincts? Experience shows that desires originating from primary instincts, or from sub-conscious complexes, are of coarser and more violent character than those proceeding from the more refined moral sentiments. For example, the self-control of civilized conduct may go by the board in a sudden access of panic fear, or the ascetic of the desert laura may know in dreams or waking thoughts the fierce assault of the devils of repressed natural instincts. Is conduct the resultant of a conflict of desires in which the strongest inevitably wins, or is there a new element, distinct from primary desire, that can come in on the side of the intrinsically weaker yet more moral desire, and, if so, what is its origin and motive energy? The former theory of action is the logical counterpart of

psychological determinism, but it has also darker and less academic associations. It is the psychological creed of the *soi-disant* realism of the school of modern fiction which depicts the inevitable urge of sex-instinct and kindred motives, as if they were the chief factors in determining human conduct. It finds utterance in the law-court on occasion, when lust disguises itself thinly beneath the claim to free self-expression. The only purpose that it can intelligibly ascribe to life is the biological purpose inherent in the various instincts, and even this may be perverted in the course of satisfaction. The only principle it invokes is the right of the strongest instinct to seek its fulfilment. This in practice is moral anarchy. To return to the other and more hopeful alternative—even if the energy of action is derived from instinct is its direction inevitably determined thereby? The following considerations would seem to justify the answer, 'No.' In the first place, an instinct is never self-awakened to action. It is perceptual as well as conative in character, in that it awaits and only responds to the stimulus of its appropriate object. In the second place, instinctive reactions are capable of considerable modification in various directions. Not only may the line of reaction be adapted to circumstances by practical experience, but the stimulation may be effected not only by the original perceptual object, but by ideas of kindred character, or through associational transference and other processes it may come to be effected by new objects and ideas.¹ That is to say, conduct is the result of an interaction between consciousness and instinct in which the organization of consciousness may profoundly modify the way in which instincts are aroused and their energy directed. Instincts, although each has its own definite character, are not in themselves completely determinate. They can be educated. The wider the conscious life and range of interest the more variable, and therefore indeterminate, the operation of instinct may be.

¹ For fuller discussion see McDougall, *Social Psychology*, p. 82, &c.

In the absence of higher determining influences the wider education of the mind may lead to a waywardness of impulse and emotional instability, as in cases of moral decadence, and the vagaries of cultured self-indulgence. Action is more arbitrary, but not freer in the moral sense. On the other hand, this greater variety of stimulus and range of interest gives wider opportunity for the realization of higher aims and more complex desires and purposes. In one case indetermination results in more complete anarchy, in the other it widens the domain of self-control, but both cases support the contention already made that consciousness is the measure of indetermination.

Having noticed that the organization of consciousness can thus modify and re-direct, and in a sense 'free' innate dispositions to action, we must now inquire more particularly into the nature of voluntary action, for moral freedom is not achieved simply by adding to the complexity of desire and the multiplicity of its objects. It involves the power of selection between objects and the government of the desires by some factor other than themselves, i.e. it involves the power of choice and self-control. Is this power ultimate and inexplicable? Many psychologists, including Professor Wm. James and Dr. Schiller, have held that there is a residual element in volition that is unanalysable. It simply *is*.

This, however, is hardly an explanation of the nature of volition. It is rather an admission that it is inexplicable, and is therefore only to be accepted as a last resort. Moral considerations may bias us in favour of it as an alternative to determinism, but these considerations cannot be allowed to control the course of psychological inquiry. But if we seek for influences within our mental constitution which can explain the nature of volition, are we necessarily involved in the denial of creative energy to the will? May not will be at once a product and a real creative force—a gathering of power from within the self and launching it along new paths and towards new objects? It is true that if it be

admitted that what I am determines what I will to do, the moral effort to be different from what I am may appear to be futile. The plea 'I cannot help *myself*' has a sinister significance if will is simply the net resultant, the 'balance carried forward,' so to speak, of the total self after the conflict of desire and habit, &c., has been worked out. If this is so, self-consciousness is not an actor in the drama of life, but only a spectator. McDougall points out that 'the essential mark of volition—that which distinguishes it from simple desire—is that the personality as a whole, or the central feature or nucleus of the personality, the man himself, or all that which is regarded by himself and others as the most essential part of himself, is thrown upon the side of the weaker motive; whereas a mere desire may be felt to be something that, in comparison with this most intimate nucleus of the personality, is foreign to the self, a force that we do not acknowledge as our own, and which we, the intimate self, may look upon with horror or detestation.'¹ But this passage combines two statements of the case that have very different effects upon the problem of freedom. 'The personality as a whole,' considered from the psychological point of view, is a very different thing from that which a man regards as 'the most essential part of himself.' It is not the total self, but what is conceived as the essential self, the ideal self, part of the value of which is that we think it free, and which is the centre of the self-regarding sentiment, that we have in view when we say '*I will.*' This idea of the self is the highest product of selective consciousness, operating according to a developed standard of values. In making its appeal to the self-regarding sentiment in its highest form of self-respect (which McDougall rightly holds to be the strongest sentiment of the moral character) it enables the ideas of freedom and self-control, along with other moral ends, to tap the fountains of instinctive energy.'

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 240.

² *Ibid.*, chs. vii. ff.

The vital point for the defence of moral freedom is not whether any action is purely arbitrary, or determined by a factor called the will, lying beyond the range of psychological analysis, and without antecedent cause or explanation, but whether other motive forces, outside or within the constitution of the total self, leave room for alternative courses of action, so that this empirical idea of the self presented by our moral self-consciousness may exercise a finally determinant influence. It seems to me essential to distinguish between the total self and the ideal self, i.e. between psychological and moral self-determination. Even a madman may be 'self-determined,' in the sense that his actions are the result of factors and processes within his own mental constitution, but he is not therefore morally responsible. It is requisite that the moral self-consciousness should constitute and fix the idea of the self which we regard as our *true* self, meaning thereby not our actual self, but the self which we value most highly. Moral volition consists in the power to constitute that idea and hold it in the focus of attention, and moral character is achieved by the organization around it of settled sentiments. This alone is the 'autonomy' which Kant claims to be the foundation of the moral value of man. Consciousness, then, is not only the measure of indetermination, but also the condition of freedom and self-control. In a sense far beyond that of imaginary belief we '*think* ourselves free.'

III. It now remains to show that this view of the relation of consciousness to freedom is consistent with the facts brought to light by physiology and our new understanding of other subconscious elements besides innate instincts.

The physiology of mental processes, so far from proving the claims of rigid determinism, contributes important facts in support of the view we have been considering. Sense stimuli, in their passage from the sensory to the motor

¹ Compare Dr. William Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 41 : 'Freedom of the will has no meaning apart from intellect.'

centres of the brain, have to pass either through the cortex, or 'rind,' of the brain, or through the sub-cortical cerebral matter. It is through the cortex of the brain that consciousness appears to function. The sub-cortical matter may provide a ready-made path, as in the case of pure reflex actions, with a 'shunt' passage through the cortex in the case of semi-reflex actions, or it may be 'canalized' by habit, thus short-circuiting stimuli that have hitherto had to pass through the cortex. Connexions so formed are unilateral in character, i.e. habits are species of actions that are constant in character, the same stimuli, in so far as the action is habitual, always evoking the same responses. From each cortical centre, however, there are radiating lines of communication, as from a telephone exchange. Not only so, but (following out the analogy of the telephone exchange) there are trunk lines connecting the various exchanges, or cortical centres. These are the lines along which 'associations' travel. Thus a stimulus reaching a centre of perception within the cortex, or an idea functioning through a cortical centre, has not only a choice of lines to various motor centres, but also, by the stimulation of associated ideas, may bring within its influence further ranges of motor possibility. Adaptability and fertility of resource, the strengthening of impulses through associated ideas, the inhibition of action through such influences as fear of punishment, these are all phenomena which are made possible by this organization of the cortical centres of the brain, and they are all factors which make for freedom and the conscious control of action. Physiology can no more prove the fact of moral freedom than vivisection of the body can capture the soul, but it does demonstrate a sufficient measure of indetermination to leave room for the possibility of freedom. It does not prove 'automatism,' and it does confirm the view that consciousness is the measure of indetermination.

It is impossible within the compass of this discussion to

deal adequately with the phenomena of 'subconsciousness' proper, and their bearing on the control of conduct. The term 'subconsciousness' itself is still ambiguous. It may be stretched to cover the somewhat fanciful wonderland of superior spiritual energies conceived by F. W. H. Myers, whose conception, in more sober fashion, influenced William James in his theory of the psychology of conversion, or it may be used as a mere synonym for the borderland of thought lying outside the immediate focus of attention, yet in no way 'dissociated' from consciousness. The latter use of the term corresponds to Freud's 'pre-consciousness.' It presents no special problem so far as freedom and self-control are concerned. Any part of its contents may be brought to light by a simple shifting of the focus of interest. It is rather the 'unconscious' in the Freudian sense that provides new material for our consideration. It seems to be established that within the mind there exists a vast storehouse of emotionally charged ideas, or at any rate of repressed desires associated with (i.e. 'fixed' upon) objects that lie buried in our world of latent memories. Modern psychology agrees with Browning that

All that is, at all, Lasts ever, past recall.

What entered into thee. *That* was, is, and shall be.

This material, however, is not available for our conscious life at will. It is 'repressed' by a peculiar 'censorship,' in itself unconscious and therefore involuntary, which guards the door between the 'unconscious' and the 'pre-conscious.' On the other hand, under certain circumstances this repressed energy can make its influence felt in consciousness, prompting courses of action which our consciousness finds it hard to explain, and, under neurotic conditions, impossible to control. If these 'complexes,' as they are called, can influence conduct, and yet at the same time lie beyond the resolvent influence of the stream of our conscious life, is not consciousness after all reduced to the rôle of a spectator?

In attempting to answer this question it is important to notice that this extraordinary, compulsive influence of the 'repressed' material of the 'unconscious' is only evident in cases of mental disease, involving some degree of 'dissociation' of consciousness, and a sort of disintegration of the personality. Nevertheless, as we have seen, the boundary line between the abnormal and the normal cannot be drawn with exactitude, and much of this exploration of the 'unconscious' leaves us with the uncomfortable sense that our conscious 'selves' are sitting on a volcano of unfamiliar forces which they cannot escape or control. A closer examination of the situation, however, may afford some measure of reassurance. Dealing first with the phenomenon of 'repression' and the 'censorship' in normal individuals, we may take it that in them 'repression' is a healthy process, affording an essential economy of mental and moral effort. If we had to face every situation, not once, but continually and unforgettingly, and felt the insistence of every desire or temptation that ever entered our hearts, our conscious life would be an impossible maelstrom. Thought and will would be extinguished by sheer congestion. Mercifully we can relegate much that is irrelevant to our main purposes and line of development in life to the limbo of the 'unconscious,' and keep it there, and this we do without conscious effort, thanks to the resistance imposed by the 'censor.' The nature of this censor, whose task would seem to be to ensure 'unconscious forgetting,' is as yet an unsolved problem. The term itself is only a descriptive idea used to indicate a mental process or function, without postulating the existence of any real entity corresponding to the idea. I am inclined to regard it as representing a function of the organized character, and related to the moral 'self,' which would thus not only determine our interest and direct our attention, fixing the focus of consciousness, but would at the same time exercise an 'unconscious' control over factors that would be disturbing to the

functioning of the moral 'ego.' Freud himself seems inclined to this view: 'While investigating the problem of resistance we learned that the forces behind it proceeded from the ego, from character traits, recognizable or latent; it is these forces, therefore, which have also effected the repression, or at least they have taken part in it. We know nothing more than this at present.'

Whatever eludes this censorship appears in normal consciousness as a temptation, alien from the moral ideal, rather than as a compulsion. It may tend to move us to action and to drag consciousness, self-excusing, in its train, but the normal safeguard is the same that we do well to employ in every form of temptation, viz. to be honest with ourselves, and to strengthen our moral consciousness and character for its guardian task. Repression seems to me to represent the dominance of developed and organized character over the results of past experience, and is the 'unconscious' counterpart of moral self-control, deriving its strength from similar sources.

Repressed desires, however, may take a severe revenge. The moral ideal which is too narrow, negative, or restrictive may drive in desires which should have been 'sublimated,' i.e. directed under the control of consciousness to healthy ends. These may appear again in distorted forms and gravely disturb the normal life. The problem of responsibility for these factors is thus transferred to the time when repression took place, for the action of a 'complex' is essentially unconscious, but it is formed by material that has at one time been present in consciousness and repressed therefrom. Psycho-analysts hold that much of this repressed material belongs to the infantile chapter of mental history. If this be so, then the effect of its recrudescence as a factor in the conduct of neurotics will have to be judged by an

¹ *Introductory Lectures on Psycho-analysis*, 1922, p. 251. Cf.: 'We recognize in this self-criticizing faculty the ego-censorship—the conscience' (p. 358, *ibid.*).

infantile standard of morals. But repressions of this type may take place in maturer life as the result of an unhealthy attitude of mind; and although repression itself is an unconscious, and in a sense involuntary, process, yet we may be responsible for the total attitude to life that conditioned it, even if its subsequent effects impair our freedom. We may 'repress' an evil conscience or a painful struggle involuntarily, because, instead of facing it frankly and fighting it out, we turned away in unwholesome dread from the temptation that at once repelled and yet attracted us too strongly. We may thus forget conflicts, weaknesses, faults which we would fain ignore yet are not brave enough to cast out, and their influence may return upon us in haunting fears, warped emotions, or nervous disorder and depression, obscure in their origin yet powerful in their disturbing effect. Again, it would seem that consciousness, illuminated by truth, is the guardian of freedom. The man of open habits of thought, who permits no tortuous ways nor obscure corners in his mind, shut off from the direct light of judgement, is the man who secures most surely the conditions of mental health. Even when to see ourselves in the daylight is painful it is better to admit the light.

Healthy mental life, then, is that which is governed by a unified consciousness. Can this condition be restored in cases where freedom has been diminished or lost,¹ and along what lines does the therapy proceed? There are two main lines of psycho-therapeutic practice, viz. psycho-analysis and suggestion. The aim and method of the former may be briefly characterized as 'autognosis.'² It seeks to restore self-control through the restoration of self-knowledge. The first task of the psycho-analyst is to enable the repressed material to pass the 'censor' that bars the way to consciousness,

¹ We can only deal here with cases of mental disease. To describe the not unrelated unification of the divided heart and healing of moral disease would involve the whole psychology of salvation, a subject too big even for reference here.

² Dr. W. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

and bring it out once more into the light of day. Having thus made it possible for the patient to face the root of the trouble, it remains to guide the re-thinking of the position and the re-sublimation of the previously repressed energy, i.e. its redirection under the control of consciousness. Again we are brought to the conclusion that consciousness creates the possibility of freedom.

Auto-suggestion reverses the method of psycho-analysis. Instead of bringing up the repressed material from sub-consciousness to correct its baneful influence, it seeks to send down the sanative influence of good suggestions into the subconscious. The methods of auto-suggestion have been criticized on the ground that they favour passivity of mind rather than robust moral effort. M. Coué's statement of the 'law of reversed effort' certainly lends itself to this criticism. He suggests that the active striving of the will disturbs the conditions under which the imagination can work. He also seems to treat will as the type of conscious influence and the power of imagination as an unconscious influence, and asserts the superiority of the latter.¹ A more careful analysis of will and imagination shows this to be a false antithesis. The curative imagination of which he makes use is a highly concentrated form of consciousness, and akin to will rather than opposed to it. The type of will that militates against effective auto-suggestion is the weak and imperfect effort of a mind unstable through lack of self-confidence and the experience of failure. It is double-minded, and oscillates spasmodically between the futile desire for success and the numbing anticipation of failure. The appearance of effort it affords is due to this conflict, and is a symptom of weakness rather than of strength. The measure of the sense of need for effort is the measure of the expectation of failure. It is like the groaning and striving of a man whose task is too hard for him, but who may therefore appear to be putting forth more energy

¹ *La Maîtrise de Soi-même*, p. 8.

than the man of greater strength. The concentration of attention upon the line of the highest desire resolves the conflict by cutting out the inhibiting fear of failure and other opposing elements, and is not only the condition of effective auto-suggestion, but also of the highest type of willing.¹ The secret of moral impotence is often that the knowledge of ourselves as failures obsesses us, and obscures the idea of ourselves as we would fain be, or perverts it to the exaggeration of self-despair.² The method of auto-suggestion helps to restore to a dominant place this idea of the self we would be, and thus heals this paralysis of the will. It can be made far more effective if to the mere verbal repetition of the suggestion we can add the support of a reasonable faith.³ It is true that sometimes men have to pass from the stage of conflict through a stage of passivity before this new concentration of consciousness and consequent freedom of the will is achieved, but this passivity is not a permanent condition of mental health. It is only a phase of the progress towards the unification of the self in consciousness, the function of which is temporary and negative. It is the 'death' of the resisting self.⁴ Finally, we must recollect that impulses from the sub-conscious move to action through consciousness. Their motives may be obscure, but their direction becomes apparent before they can affect conduct. These impulses may be curiously, violently, and even repulsively inconsistent with our empirical idea of ourselves, but they appear in consciousness as a conscious attitude to a presented object, i.e. as thoughts, and feelings, and desires upon which the judgement and influence of the moral self can

¹ Cf. Wm. James' doctrine of the will as attention. Cf. also St. Paul, 'One thing I do,' &c. (Phil. iii. 18.)

² Cf. St. Paul, 'O wretched man that I am,' &c. (Rom. vii. 15, &c.)

³ Cf. 'Day by day. . . I get better and better' with 'I can do all things in Him that strengtheneth me.' (Phil. iv. 18.)

See Wm. James' *Varieties of Religious Experience*, p. 212.

be brought to bear. No man can excuse himself from responsibility on the ground that he was the victim of a 'subconscious impulse.' Once he became aware enough of its influence to excuse himself on that ground, it ceased to be unconscious in character and could be met and challenged by the watchful soul. We may not be able to penetrate the mysteries of our subconscious selves, but we can guard the doorways of thought. It is here, on the threshold of consciousness, that the battle of freedom is often lost or won. That man is truly free who through self-knowledge and the organization of moral judgement, having won control over his thoughts, keeps the frontiers of his mind secure, so that there is no neutral or rebellious area where alien impulses can find unchallenged lodgement and a *point d'appui* for deeper invasion, and who uses himself most fully, directing the instinctive energy of his nature to the highest ends, lest, uncontrolled and malcontent, it become a source of danger to his soul. And if there be in subconsciousness a fountain of inspiration as well as powers of temptation, this alone will not make a man free and righteous. 'The volume of its waters,' as Maeterlinck says, 'will be as the depth of the channel our expectation has fashioned.'¹ That man alone can use the 'up-rush' of inspiration who is trained to discern, to discriminate, and to use—to 'abhor that which is evil and cleave to that which is good.'

Freedom, then, is an achievement, rendered possible in the normal development of moral consciousness and character. In its perfect form it is for all of us an ideal rather than a fact, but there is within the world of the mind room for the twin growth of self-knowledge and self-control.

A. N. ROSE.

¹ *Wisdom and Destiny*, 1912, p. 14. (translation).

SOME PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF SIR WILLIAM ROBERTSON NICOLL

WHEN my first book, which was published anonymously, appeared, Sir William Robertson Nicoll wrote to me, a stranger, asking me to call upon him, and inviting me to contribute to the *British Weekly*.

How well I remember that first meeting! He scanned my face shrewdly and observantly, but with eyes that were as dreamily and kindly curious as those of cud-chewing cattle in a meadow. Then he offered me a hand, so woman-soft that I dropped it hastily, lest my ruder clasp might be too rough. Pointing to a commodious chair, he inquired, 'Do you smoke?' Nodding approval, and with evident relief when I said that I did, he seated himself close to, and stooping over, the fire, with hands splayed open to the warmth, and, turning round every now and then to look me in the face, he plied me with questions. Then he mentioned a name which I had never before heard mentioned, but has since become world-famous.

'You appear to be well informed about the younger writers of merit who have yet to make a name for themselves,' he said. 'Did you ever notice anything by a man named Barrie?'

'J. M. Barrie?' I replied. 'I have not only noticed, but have cut out, to keep, sketches and stories as well as verses of his in the *British Weekly* and the *St. James's Gazette*. I am more interested in him than in the work of any other new writer. He strikes me as a man of genius.'

Nicoll's woman-slim hand lifted nervously (incidentally, I never knew him to be nervous) to his mouth, as he slowly, very slowly, stroked his thin and straggling moustache.

'Aye,' he said, and both his voice and the movement of his hand were as deliberative and meditative as the cud-

munching of the ruminating cattle, of whose kindly-curious eyes his eyes, as I have already said, sometimes reminded me. 'You are the first I have heard say so, but you are right. Barrie's a man of genius.'

He rose from his chair, stole, stooping-shouldered, to a side table, to return with a slip of paper in his hand. 'I sent your book to Barrie to review for the *British Weekly*. Maybe you would like to see what he says'—handing me a review in proof.

Then Sir William settled down to business as an editor and a journalist. 'Tell me more of what you know of Barrie,' he said; and when that subject was exhausted he put question after question about writers with whom he found I was personally acquainted, among them William (now Sir William) Watson, then all unknown to what the poet himself has called 'the loud impertinence of fame,' and no more than a 'suitor at the world's reluctant ear'; and about Roden Noel, who to-day is remembered, and is likely to be remembered, for his poem, 'A Little Child's Monument.' Then he inquired, 'Do you know a man called H. D. Lowry?' (the author, I may remind the reader, of *Wreckers and Methodists*). 'I was very interested in Lowry till I made a discovery about him,' continued Nicoll. 'He is a man of remarkable, of great, ability. W. E. Henley thinks he is coming to the highest place. I thought so too, till I discovered that Lowry has no heart, no heart' (he pronounced it 'haa-i-rrt').

With a wave of his hand and a sad headshake he dismissed my old friend Lowry from consideration. I wonder whether Nicoll changed his opinion about Lowry having no heart after reading the latter's memorial lines to 'W. V,' which Mr. William Canton reprinted from the *Morning Post*, at the end of his exquisite child-memoir, 'In Memory of W. V.'?

We talked of many other writers, known or unknown, among the former Whittier, the Quaker poet. I was proud to possess the complete American edition of Whittier's

poems which the poet had himself sent me, inscribed, 'From very truly thy friend, John G. Whittier.' Nicoll differed from me when I said that I believed that Whittier had been a great influence for faith, here and in America. 'I would hardly say that,' he corrected. 'Whittier has harmonized and made more beautiful the faith we already hold. His is a pure and holy spirit, as seen in his restful hymns and poems, but he is just a sweet singer in Israel, no more. He is not a thinker or teacher, as F. W. Robertson was, or a great mystic and something of a prophet, as George MacDonald surely is.'

The hand which Sir William laid on my arm was, in lightness of touch, like the fall of a rose-leaf. I saw but did not feel him place it there. In his voice, and in his eyes—which sometimes seemed to look at one as if from behind drawn curtains or glazed windows of sleep—earnestness and sincerity were apparent.

Mention of F. W. Robertson reminds me that I made the great preacher's only surviving son, Charles Boyd Robertson—who was an intimate friend of mine—and Nicoll known to each other by inviting them to lunch with me at the Savage Club. Though Robertson and I had forgathered many times, the talk often being of the great preacher, Nicoll drew Robertson out to talk more fully and more freely of his father than I had ever heard Robertson talk on the subject before. Thereafter my two guests corresponded, but I do not think they ever again met until—if a meeting it can be called—Nicoll stood by Charles Robertson's grave at Bordighera. In the *British Weekly* for March 8, 1910, he wrote of Robertson's last resting-place:

'It bears the inscription, "Christ died that we might live." Somehow it seemed natural that Charles Robertson and George MacDonald should sleep close to one another. Charles Robertson I knew only slightly through the kindness of my friend, Mr. Coulson Kernahan. Robertson was a man of high accomplishments. He accepted an important place

in the Foreign Office, but the dominant thought of his life was the intense love, reverence, and pride with which he cherished the memory of his father.'

Besides Charles Robertson there were others—Watts-Dunton and Swinburne—whom I was the means of making known to Nicoll. But on one occasion he adroitly dodged an introduction between himself and a friend of mine.

The word had gone round that, after hearing Ian Maclaren preach, Nicoll had invited the minister of Sefton Park Chapel, Liverpool, to write an idyll for the *British Weekly*. The idyll was published, was (again by Nicoll's invitation) followed by others, which, both in serial, and later in book form as *Beside the Bonnie Brier Bush*, were a great success. What one minister had done, other ministers felt that, given a hearing by a sympathetic editor, they too could do. Thereafter ministers with the ambition to write other things than sermons marked down Nicoll and the *British Weekly* for their own.

'I've only a very small space for anything outside the regular features—the leading article, the political, literary, and social notes, current events, news of the Churches, my "Claudius Clear" page, and Miss Stoddart's admirable "Lorna," and other contributions,' he said to me dolefully. 'It is only once in a while that I can find room for anything in the idyll way at all. But I'm snowed under with idylls. I haven't the space to use one in fifty, nor the time to read a fifth that are sent me. The literary paragraphists did me an ill turn when they put it about that I invited ("discovered" him, they call it) Ian Maclaren to write idylls for the *British Weekly*.'

When, years ago, I mentioned to Nicoll that a publisher had invited me to write my Recollections, Sir William again proved his anxiety for the best interests of his friends by urging me, not to abandon the idea, but to wait till what he thought was the fitting time.

'I don't approve of your writing your reminiscences at

present,' he said in a letter which lies before me, 'at least for publication. A man should not do that till he is over sixty. But I approve very much of keeping notes, and I wish to goodness I had done so. I have kept none, and only a very few letters. So the mist gathers thick over the past, and I have not the power to lift it.'

Later he reverted to the matter in conversation. 'There is an impression abroad—I don't say I agree with it—that a man goes on writing original work so long, and only so long, as the power to do original work remains,' he said. 'When he has to fall back upon reminiscences some people take it as meaning that he has "shot his bolt," that he has nothing left worth saying. So he tries to keep himself before the public, and to go on drawing "royalties" ' (incidentally, I have sometimes wondered whether the receipts of the average author justify so regal and high-sounding a name) 'by recording what other folk have said to him. You are too young a man for that. You are still in the fighting ranks, and mustn't let the impression get abroad that you are placed on the retired list by writing recollections yet awhile.'

That I followed his advice I have never regretted, and am glad gratefully to remember that when, years after, I did publish some recollections, no one wrote more appreciatively of them than he.

When Sir William Robertson Nicoll was lying on what he knew was to be his deathbed, fighting for breath, and so weak that he could speak only a word or two at a time, and then in a whisper that could scarcely be heard, he said: 'If it be God's will, I shall be glad to be gone, for I care to live only so long as I can be of use to others.' The wish and the will to be of use to others which he then expressed had actuated his whole life. What he had said about the folk who sent him idylls was in the main mere jest. It is generally the man with no time who makes time to do kindnesses, and Nicoll's intimates know how much of his time went in looking

over manuscripts thus submitted to him. To his friends—and on other than literary matters—he was (and spontaneously) eager and ready to be helpful. When I was literary adviser to the late Mr. James Bowden, that dear friend of mine was pressed to take over the managerial control of Messrs. Routledge & Sons while continuing his own business as a publisher. As Bowden had confidence in my judgement on literary matters he was anxious that I should assist him in the work at Routledge's, to whom I was to give half my time, my salary to continue the same, but half to be paid by them.

But a Mr. James Hooper, who had been engaged in advertising the ninth edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, and on methods of his own, more American than English, was then pushing a publication issued in this country by Messrs. Routledge, and was in partial control at Broadway House. With Mr. Hooper I found myself unable to co-operate, and rather than cause trouble between him and Bowden I thought it best to resign. The news reached Nicoll, who wrote:—

'MY DEAR KERNAHAN,—I have heard a rumour that you are leaving Bowden, and if so I am sure it is none of your fault. If you think I could be of any use, you know how much pleasure it would give me, and I might possibly be able.

'With kindest regards,

'Yours ever,

'W. R. NICOLL.'

As it happened, I was offered and accepted another readership, within a few hours of my resignation. There I remained until the time when I wearied of reading manuscripts, and decided to retire, that I might live in the country and devote myself to work other than editorial.

Ever since our first meeting Nicoll had, as I shall to my life's end gratefully remember, shown me extraordinary

kindness, and had spared himself in nothing for what he considered my interests. He was distressed that I was leaving London, came specially to see me on the matter, and said that one of the best paid and most important readerships in London would shortly be vacant, and that he had small doubt about his being in a position to obtain it for me. He was disappointed when I said that I had had enough of readerships, and even after I had actually retired, and left London, he urged me again and again to return. In a letter before me he writes, 'You know how much I regretted your resignation of your readership and retirement to the country. The fact is, you must come back to London and to your old friends. Shorter and I lunch almost every day together at the Devonshire Club at two o'clock. I do wish you would join us one day and let us talk the matter over, but send me a postcard to make sure. It will be very refreshing to see you and hear you again.'

In another letter he wrote: 'I was very glad to hear from you again after your long silence. But I am not likely at all to forget you, and I only partly believe in your continued quiescence in the country. We shall have you back again in Fleet Street to a dead certainty one of these days.'

I have other letters to the same purpose, in replying to one of which I said chaffingly something to the effect that his anxiety to see me in a paid post made me ask myself whether he feared he would one day have me on his hands as a broken-down author for whom some provision must be made.

One letter from him, dated 'The Old Manse, Lumsden, Aberdeen,' touched me deeply. Not because it speaks with undeserved kindness of myself, but because it shows how unwavering was Nicoll's friendship, I quote part of it here. I had felt called upon to take action in a matter known to him, and in which some one known to him was concerned. Mine was action hastily taken, and may have been ill-judged and unwise, but at least I acted from conviction and a sense of duty. As Nicoll

knew the circumstances and the person involved, I thought that I owed it to him to say what course I had taken, and why.

'No one who has the slightest knowledge of you, no one who has talked to you for ten minutes, would ever dream that you had acted with other than transparent honesty and simplicity of purpose in this matter,' he wrote in reply.

Then, premising what he said with 'Forgive me—I am an older man than you,' he took me to task on points where he thought I was wrong (as doubtless I was), and pointed out what in his opinion would have been the wiser course. He did so with such wisdom, such friendly, even fatherly, solicitude, that many times since, when I have been minded to take like hasty and impulsive action, I have been withheld from doing so, recalling his words.

In a brief tribute which appeared in the *Bookman* for June I said of Robertson Nicoll that he struck me on my very first meeting with him as 'tired.' Then, and thereafter, his eyes gave me the impression of one who has just awakened from a heavy sleep, for the drowsiness and the moist dewiness which come of deep slumber seemed still to linger about them. I should not have been in the least surprised had he stretched himself, yawned, and said, 'Aye, but I am tired!' As tired—one who was 'born tired,' as the phrase goes—he always struck me. He seemed, indeed, so tired that he might easily have let himself lapse into something of chronic valedudinarianism. Instead, and by sheer will-power, he forced himself to toil at the craft he so loved—and he did so less for rewards than for love of his craft, and because of the opportunities which the position he had attained afforded him of helping humbler and unrecognized fellow workers to come to the place they deserved. Of some of those who thus came to high place, one can truly say that they owe it in no small part to Robertson Nicoll, for he had the rare power of compelling others to their best.

How he found time to lead, not one, but many lives, is a

mystery to the rest of us. I am not speaking now of his political, editorial, authorial, or social activities, nor of his religious work, except in the last-named connexion to say that he never merged or lost the man of God and the minister in the man of letters. His sermons, his religious writings, and the influence he wielded as a spiritual leader, are known to all, and of that side of him I need not speak. But of the equally great influence he wielded during the war one hears less; and in my humble opinion few men so entirely devoted every ability, every ounce of energy they possessed, to the service of their country during the war as did Robertson Nicoll. His name stands on no cenotaph, no war memorial, but those who best knew him know what agony the coming of war—the most damnable, bloody, and inhuman thing on God's earth—cost a man of Nicoll's Christian faith and spirit. They know, too, with what heroism, faith, self-sacrifice, and endurance he bore his part when the ordeal was upon us. His devotion to what he held to be his duty was, if different in kind and in degree, no less heroic than that of the men in the field. The task which he set himself in the war was to do what one man could to sustain the spirit and the unity of the British people at home, abroad, and in the field, by faith in God, and, because of faith in God, in the conviction that the enemy would not be allowed ultimately to prevail. To that belief he held, that belief he preached by voice, pen, and personal influence in the darkest hour of Armageddon.

In a sense, I believe that he gave what was left of his life to his country. 'Creaking' as was for Robertson Nicoll the 'gate' between life here and life beyond, that gate might at this moment, and possibly for some years to come, be still standing on its hinges but for the war. In other words, he fanned the low-burning spark of his frail vitality till it blazed—burnt itself out, in fact—into a light for the sustainment of his fellows in those black years.

COULSON KERNAHAN.

THE STRANGLE-HOLD ON LEPROSY

WHAT is this disease? . . . It is a soul in agony, condemned to wander about dragging with it a putrefying body from which it cannot be delivered.'

From the dawn of history this dread disease has plagued mankind, and now at long last there is some hope of its being once and for all stamped out. It is too early yet to speak with any confidence about a cure, but it is no exaggeration to say that under a treatment recently discovered hundreds of lepers in various parts of the world are certainly recovering. There seems reason to believe that within a generation leprosy will be conquered.

Leprosy was known among the negro slaves of ancient Egypt at least as long ago as the reign of Tutankhamen. The fact that it is mentioned in the Vedas about the same time proves that it was known in India more than 3,000 years ago, while references to it in the earliest biblical records are common. It seems likely that Central Africa was the original seat of the disease, and thence it spread to Asia. The motley hordes of the army of Darius brought it to Europe, while it was taken to the New World as an accompaniment of negro slavery. The fact that its ravages are apt to be worst in hot, humid climates is probably due to the innumerable insect bites there experienced, which provide the minute lesions, or abrasions, of the skin through which the lepra bacilli gain entrance to the tissues.

Probably no disease has ever been regarded with more horror. The belief widely held in every age that leprosy is a signal-mark of divine disfavour has increased its inherent loathsomeness. It attacks people of every condition; none are immune, rich and poor, old and young, black and white, those who live within the Arctic circle as well as those whose homes are in the tropics. It often produces the loss of

fingers and toes, or total facial disfigurement. The tissues dry up, the sense of touch and feeling is lost, and often the affected parts rot off and fall away. No more pitiable sight can be imagined than that of a group of lepers begging for a living in an Eastern city. They crouch at the roadside, exposing their hideous sores, or hobble along on crutches, or even crawl on hands and knees, presenting a ghastly appearance, and parading their sufferings for the sake of alms. Here a frightfully disfigured woman, with a child in her arms, trudges along the snow-covered road, moaning piteously for help; there a boy with bleeding feet hobbles along begging for backsheesh.

Like a deadly miasma, the disease spreads unrestingly through a whole countryside, destroying as it goes. In 1865 leprosy was unknown in New Caledonia; at the end of twenty-three years there were 4,000 known lepers in the island, the source being one infected Chinese immigrant. In 1865 the disease had infected one in every three hundred of the population of the Sandwich Islands, while in twenty-five years it had increased to one in every thirty.

Reliable statistics of leprosy are singularly difficult to obtain, partly because the disease is regarded with such loathing that no one is willing to admit that he is a leper, and partly because its long incubation period makes it possible for a man to be infected by leprosy for years without knowing it. A few years ago Dr. Victor Heiser, of the Philippines, estimated the number of lepers in the world at two millions, and Sir Leonard Rogers thinks that this is not an over-estimate. Scarcely any country is free. There are probably about a thousand lepers in the United States, and seven times that number in Europe, while in Korea there are 20,000, and in Japan at least 100,000. It is estimated that there are half a million lepers in Africa, and about an equal number in India, the largest numbers in proportion to the population being found in Assam and Burma, and the smallest in the Punjab. In the East Indies and Siam

✓ great numbers are found, while China is cursed with at least a million cases. In some places, as in the Philippines, a ruthless war is being waged against leprosy, while in other lands, such as Java, nothing at all is done either to relieve the sufferers or to safeguard the community.

In the fight with this ancient foe there are two stages; the first is to prevent its spread, the second is to treat the disease itself. It is now established that leprosy is not hereditary; it is a communicable disease which has never been known anywhere to spring up *de novo*. Always there has been some contact with an infected person. The children of lepers are born free of taint, and if separated as soon after birth as possible they can grow up in perfect health. The inference is that if lepers can be rigidly separated the disease can be kept strictly within bounds, and in time eliminated. It is the considered opinion of experts that with strict segregation leprosy could be stamped out in India in one generation, and in the whole world in half a century. It was by shutting off the lepers in lazarettos during the Middle Ages that the disease was stamped out in England and Western Europe. In places as far apart as Norway and the Philippines, Korea and the Cape Province, segregation is to-day producing striking results. Half a century ago one person in every five hundred in Norway was suffering from leprosy. The introduction of segregation has reduced the proportion to one in seventy-five thousand. When the United States assumed responsibility for the administration of the Philippines leprosy was rife; in a dozen years 9,000 lepers have been segregated in leprosaria, and to-day the number of infected persons does not exceed 3,500. The others have passed away in the normal course of life, and those remaining are prevented from spreading the disease. Segregation is now recognized on every hand to be the only practicable preventive measure.

It might seem from this that compulsory segregation is all that is necessary to rid the world of leprosy; but in actual

practice it has often had the effect of driving the disease underground, and lepers have hidden themselves in the shelter of their homes, where they have been a fruitful source of infection. The disease also has an extraordinarily long incubation period, sometimes as long as fifteen or even twenty years, during the whole of which time the patient may be all unconsciously infecting others. The problem is complicated by the difficulty of convincing the general population of the necessity for, and practicability of, segregation for a disease of which the infectibility is slight and the separation demanded is lifelong. In spite of these obstacles, the strategy in this fight is to limit the area of the battle, to circumscribe the sphere of the ravages of the disease, and to draw around it a sanitary cordon to prevent its spread.

The next line of attack is the attempt to treat the disease itself, and if possible to find a cure. It was precisely the lack of any effective treatment of the disease that led to the general concealment of the early, not easily recognizable, but infective stages of the malady. The present policy of substituting leper colonies for leper asylums, coupled with the probability, or at least the possibility, of a cure, is leading patients in the early stages of the disease to go voluntarily into segregation.

Until quite recently there was no treatment that could be confidently recommended. The cause of leprosy has for some time been known to be a bacillus almost indistinguishable under the microscope, or by stains, from that of tuberculosis. This organism causes a local lesion, and after a period the disease spreads, and ultimately causes hideous disfigurement. The peculiarity of this bacillus is its refusal to be 'cultured'; it has been impossible, therefore, to get a serum. Apparently it will grow only on living tissue. It will die in twenty minutes in the sunlight, for the bacillus is a weak one. Were this not providentially the case, leprosy would spread like a plague and wipe out the human race.

All kinds of theories have been held, and all sorts of investigations undertaken. One authority held to the popular belief that leprosy was caused by eating fish, another that it was carried by a bug or a flea, and a third that it was associated with scabies or itch, and that the bacillus was scratched into the tissues by dirty and germ-laden fingernails. The probability now seems to be that the bacillus enters any opening in the skin, such as the minute punctures made by the bites of flies. All sorts of supposed remedies have been tried. In one region there was a belief that the eating of human flesh would cure the malady, and lepers have stolen children and devoured them, vainly hoping thereby to gain relief. Quite recently, however, a new epoch in the treatment of leprosy has opened. For centuries it has been commonly known that lepers found some relief from rubbing themselves with chaulmoogra oil. Following this cue, Sir Leonard Rogers, of the Indian Medical Service, Dr. Ernest Muir, the Leprosy Research Worker of the Calcutta School of Tropical Medicine, Dr. Wilson of Korea, Dr. Fowler of Central China, and others, have been experimenting with chaulmoogra preparations. At first the crude oil was taken orally, but the effectiveness of this method was limited because of the general digestive intolerance of the drug. The extreme nausea that it produced made it unusable until the difficulty was overcome by the method of injection.

Chaulmoogra seeds, from which the oil is extracted, are the product of the *Taraktogenos Kurzii* tree, which grows freely in Burma, Bengal, and Assam. This oil, with a little caustic soda added, yields sodium chaulmoograte, and free chaulmoogric acid is obtained by the addition of hydrochloric acid. If a little alcohol is poured into this chaulmoogric acid ethyl chaulmoograte is obtained, that is, the ethyl esters miscible with blood. These ethyl ester preparations, containing the active principles of chaulmoogra oil, are injected intramuscularly and intravenously. The injections, usually made once a week, give rise to a febrile

and local reaction, and under the microscope it is seen that the leprosy bacilli in the tissues break up and are destroyed. An observer may see steady progress during the period of treatment, and the severe reactions produced by a few injections indicate that effective resisting powers are produced in the system. After repeated treatment the lesions completely disappear, and the bacilli are apparently destroyed once and for all.

The methods followed are not in every case the same. There are several medical men at work who are experimenting in many ways. One man is using the oil from the seed, not of the chaulmoogra tree, but of the *Hydnocarpus Wightiana*, which grows in Burma; another is using a chaulmoograte pill; one is adopting the method of injections with a gynocardate solution; another the ethyl esters treatment; while research chemists are at work on soluble preparations made from cod-liver oil and the oil expressed from the soya bean. This opens up a great prospect of more abundant and therefore cheaper supplies of the medicine. Some leper colonies are growing the trees for their own needs, while Union Medical College, Peking, is now prepared to supply ethyl esters at cost price to all who are working among lepers in China. Astonishing progress has been made. In the Honolulu Leper Hospitals, in every one of the seventy-eight patients treated by the ethyl esters preparations the leprosy bacilli have been destroyed, and there has been no case of relapse. In one or two hospitals there have been cases discharged as apparently free from the disease.

Those who are engaged in this fight are careful not to speak of having cured lepers. Since the period of incubation is several years, it is just possible that at the end of that time the disease may reassert itself, having been recessive during the whole of the period. A few of the lepra bacilli may remain hidden somewhere in the body, and these may become active when the body has for some reason or other been reduced to below par. Reassertion on the part of the

disease, however, seems highly unlikely. The experimenters are fairly confident that the 'cures' will prove to be permanent. Certainly there are large numbers of cases that are now free alike from the symptoms and from the germs of leprosy, their sores are healed, and the anaesthetic parts have regained feeling. The research workers are hard on the scent, and almost certainly will soon be able to announce with complete certitude that a cure has been found.

In one leper hospital forty per cent. of the patients receiving the new treatment have lost all trace of the leprosy bacilli from their systems, while eighty per cent. are on the way to recovery. In another hospital, to which only the worst cases are admitted, the death-rate was formerly one patient in every four per year; to-day it is only one in twenty-five. In this hospital it was usual for the lepers to pay a pice per month into a burial fund, but recently they went on strike, refusing to pay on the ground that hardly any one died from leprosy in that hospital now. At Purulia, within eighteen months of Dr. Muir introducing the treatment on a large scale, the mortality has been reduced to one-fifth of the former rate. Of cases treated by Dr. Muir for not less than six months every one showed definite improvement, and more than half the number considerable improvement. Of eighty cases of which careful records were kept for a period of more than a year, only four refused to yield to treatment. Sir Leonard Rogers has patients under his care who have been free from the disease for fully five years, while at Taiku, in Korea, more than twenty-five patients were released last year as apparently free from the disease.

With such results already achieved—with the ulcers banished, the bacilli destroyed, and the anaesthetic areas restored—it may be claimed that it is legitimate to speak of a cure being within reach. Much probably still remains unknown about the disease, but these discoveries have

utterly changed the outlook, and workers among lepers feel as travellers who see a light at the end of a long, dark tunnel and follow the gleam. No extravagant claims, of course, are made. It is not expected, for example, that any treatment could possibly restore lost fingers or toes, nor are the best results to be obtained solely by the use of the ethyl esters of chaulmoogra oil or any other drugs. Leprosy, like tuberculosis, is largely due to a departure from nature and her ways, and only by returning to these ways can the cure of leprosy be attained. Good general health, cleanliness, suitable work and exercise, fresh air and healthy surroundings, abundant fresh and well-adapted food not taken to excess, a healthy, happy mind not oppressed by care or unnecessary anxiety, are precisely the forces in the presence of which leprosy cannot live.

The difference to the *morale* of the leper hospitals is as amazing as the scientific advance. Previously the disease induced a kind of dull despair. The patient believed himself under divine disfavour, and was assured that recovery was practically impossible. He could merely wait while the loathsome disease spread over him, till his fingers rotted off and at last death gave him his release. 'Abandon hope, all ye who enter here' was in effect written across the portals of every leper hospital. The patient who entered received the comforts of the institution and the consolations of religion, but he never went out again alive. In a monograph on *Leprosy in South America* there is a haunting description of the hopelessness of the leper. The victims are being taken to a segregation camp. 'They started out in two bands . . . and a crowd of onlookers, filled with curiosity, lined the streets through which they were to pass. It is not possible to give a just description of this solemn and pathetic march. The sight of the passing of so much pain and misery, in slow march, a rival of the march of death, preceded by a lantern held on high in the midst of the shades of the night, was something that can never be forgotten.

. . . "Good-bye, people of Quito," the lepers exclaimed with hoarse and cavernous voices, which stirred the profoundest depths of our hearts; for that funereal "Good-bye" was to be eternal; it carried with it the breath of death; they knew they would never return.' Hope was completely choked down by despair.

All that is altered now. The leper knows that there is at least a chance, and perhaps a very good chance, of being cured. His whole outlook is changed. Despair gives place to gaiety and numb indifference to good fellowship. The medical superintendent of one leper asylum wrote recently of the lepers under his care: 'They are the happiest, jolliest people you can come across.' One day they were discovered holding a meeting for prayer and praise because they were able for the first time for many years to feel 'prickly heat' again.

Segregate the lepers from the untainted; remove children from their leprous parents; educate public opinion, and make wide use of the ethyl esters treatment, and—who shall say?—perhaps in twenty-five years, leprosy will be for ever banished from the haunts of men. It is premature to speak of a cure, but it is clear that medical science has a strangle-hold on leprosy, and before long humanity will have registered another victory in its age-long fight with disease.

A. M. CHIRGWIN.

DANTE'S DOCTRINE OF SIN AND ATONEMENT¹

AT first sight the study of Dante's theology appears to be a task before which the stoutest heart must quail. We are told that we cannot grasp his thought without some adequate knowledge of Aristotle on the one hand and of Thomas Aquinas on the other. Even that formidable introduction is not so simple as it sounds. Greek was a dead letter in the Europe of the thirteenth century, and Aristotle had only come to light after centuries of obscurity. So Dante only knew him in the form of Latin translations and commentaries, which themselves were largely influenced by Platonic conceptions which had filtered down through the medium of the Neo-Platonists. All students of Dante are greatly indebted to Dr. Wicksteed's various volumes, and especially to his *Dante and Aquinas*, for much illumination on this obscure subject.

Such were Dante's masters—the great Greek philosopher and the greatest of mediaeval theologians. But Dante was no slave to other men's thoughts, however great they might be. Their ideas passed through the crucible of his own mind and came forth from it with its own impress upon them. Loyal Catholic as he was, and accepting as he did the authoritative dogmas of the Church, in many things he thought for himself, sometimes with great daring. And further, he relates his theology to experience in a way that was surely unique in that age, and so again and again in the *Comedy* we find ourselves passing from the profundities of Greek metaphysics and mediaeval scholasticism to the

¹ *From Vita Nuovo to Paradiso*, Philip H. Wicksteed, M.A., Litt. D. (Manchester University Press, 1922); *Dante and Aquinas* (Dent & Sons, 1913); *The Religion of Time and the Religion of Eternity* (Essex Hall Lecture, 1899); *Six Sermons on Dante* (Elkin Mathews, 1879).

experienced facts of sin and redemption as they are known to the hearts of the children of God in every land and in every age.

The *Inferno* is a poem, but it is also a theology and an experience. It opens with the graphic description of the poet lost in a rough and tangled forest, with three wild beasts, typical of his own besetting sins, standing in his way. Far away and far above is a sunlit mountain, but how to get there? The forest was trackless, and the beasts were fierce and strong. Then suddenly Virgil appears, sent on his mission by Beatrice to deliver this lost soul from his bondage and to show him his way to the mountain and the stars. That way led through hell. There was that way of escape and that way only. It does not mean, of course, that Dante was to experience for himself the pains and penalties of the *Inferno*, but it does mean that he must see it and feel it.

And so Dante in his journey sees not only the sinners in their doom, but he sees the sin that brought them to it. Three illuminating sentences of Dr. Wicksteed's may be quoted. The first is from one of his earliest books on the subject, published more than forty years ago: 'The souls in hell are what they were on earth, no better and no worse. . . . Man as misusing his free will, in all the scope and variety of the infinite theme, is the subject of the poem.' The other two are from Dr. Wicksteed's latest volume on Dante: 'As a presentation of an awful fate that will catch the impenitent sinner hereafter Dante's *Inferno* must rank with other descriptions of hell. As a revelation of what the evil choice is in itself, wherever and whenever made, here or hereafter, it stands alone.' And again: 'Every reader who is not paralysed by mere horrors, or carried away by isolated splendours of poetry, feels, vaguely perhaps at first, but with inevitable cumulative effect as he reads on and as he reads again, that a great seer is unfolding to him the vision of sin, and this as the first step in his task of striving

to rescue those who are yet living from the state of misery and lead them to the state of bliss.'

Take, for instance, the description of the sullen folk in the fifth circle. We are reminded of the striking definition of the sin of 'Accidia' in the Summa: 'Sloth is a heaviness and sadness that so weighs down the soul that it has no mind to do anything. It carries with it a disgust of work. It is a torpor of the mind neglecting to set about good.'

As Dante looks at the lake of pitch he observes bubbles upon the surface, and his guide says:

Now seest thou, son,
The souls of those whom anger overcame.
This, too, for certain know, that underneath
The water dwells a multitude, whose sighs
Into these bubbles make the surface heave,
As thine eye tells thee, wheresoe'er it turn.
Fixed in the slime they say, 'Sad once were we
In the sweet air made gladsome by the sun,
Carrying a foul and lazy mist within;
Now in these murky settlings are we sad.'

It is not so much that we feel that the punishment is just, or even that its very nature fits in with the sin that has been committed. It is rather that we feel that the punishment *is* the sin, that the sin itself is its own punishment. And so in many other passages of the *Inferno*.

So we are given the vision of the exiles of eternity, as Dr. J. S. Carroll aptly calls them. We see them in their pain and agony, but most of all we see them in their sin. We see sin as exceeding sinful, sin as it is in itself. There may be remorse in Dante's hell, but there is no repentance; there is no hint that any of the lost have learned to hate their sin. They hate their tormentors, they hate one another, they hate their God, but they do not hate their sins. They have come to their own place.

We must remember that Dante is writing of the intermediate state; the day of judgement and the resurrection are yet to come, and at one point he asks Virgil whether their

tortures will be increased or mitigated in that day. This is his answer :

Consult thy knowledge ; that decides
That as each thing to more perfection grows,
It feels more sensibly both good and pain.
Though ne'er to true perfection may arrive
This race accurs'd, yet nearer then than now
They shall approach it.

'The soul without the body,' says Aquinas, 'has not the perfection of its nature.' And so to the righteous their redemption is not complete until they have received their resurrection bodies, and the doom of the lost is not complete until they have received theirs. It is not necessary to assert, therefore, that Dante accepted the dogma of eternal punishment in its most material form, but one aspect of that dogma was a terrible strain upon his faith. He was compelled to find a place in hell for the virtuous heathen. When we think of his regard—we might almost say his worship—of Aristotle and Virgil we can understand how that nearly broke his heart, and was not far from breaking even his faith.

Strangely enough, he does not mention the infants who died without baptism. Aquinas places them in a separate limbo, and adds these beautiful words : 'As they are not made capable of possessing the vision of God they no more grieve for its loss than a bird does that it is not an emperor or a king. Moreover, though not united to God in glory they are joined to Him by the store they possess of natural goods, and are able to rejoice in Him by natural knowledge and love.' Perhaps that passage gave Dante his cue for the remarkable way in which he solved, or tried to solve, his heart-breaking problem of the virtuous heathen in the fourth canto.

Three points may be noted. First of all, hell is the place of darkness ; there no light ever shines ; even its fires and flames, though they scorch and burn, give no ray of light.

But this limbo is open and bright and lofty, and Plato and Caesar and the rest 'stand manifest to view.' Then we must never allow ourselves to miss the symbolism of Dante's colours, and green is always the symbol of hope. When Dante at last meets Beatrice in the Garden of Eden, at the summit of the Mount of Purgatory, she is clothed in a green mantle, and here in the first circle of the Inferno we see the good pagans 'in a mead with lively verdure fresh' 'on the green enamel of the plain.'

How far we may press these details we cannot say, but there is no doubt as to the meaning of the symbolism of the great castle, with its seven walls. Aquinas teaches that there are ten virtues possible to man: the four cardinal virtues—prudence, justice, temperance, and courage; the three intellectual virtues—wisdom, science, and understanding; and the three theological virtues—faith, hope, and love. The good pagans live their life or fulfil their eternal destiny encircled by the four cardinal and the three intellectual virtues. It is only from the three theological virtues that they are for ever debarred.

For his doctrine of the Atonement we turn to the great theological passage in the seventh canto of the *Paradiso*. There Beatrice explains to the poet the hidden mysteries of the Incarnation and the Atonement, of the Creation and the Resurrection. It is at first difficult to see why the poet gives to us this great dissertation in the heaven of Mercury and not in that of the fixed stars, where he meets St. Peter, St. James, and St. John, but the underlying thought appears to be this. The second heaven of Mercury is the eternal home of the saints whose good deeds were marred by some element of self-seeking and self-glory. Justinian tells Dante:

This little star is furnished with good spirits
Whose mortal lives were busied to that end,
That honour and renown might wait on them;
And when desires thus err in their intention
True love must needs ascend with slacker beam.

And then beautifully adds :

But it is part of our delight to measure
Our wages with the merit, and admire
The close proportion. . . .
Of diverse voices is sweet music made ;
So in our life the different degrees
Render sweet harmony among these wheels.

So in this star we meet the souls who sought their own glory even in their good deeds. And in the Incarnation and Atonement God was seeking His own glory in the redemption of the race. But there is another reason. Mercury was the home of Justinian, the great Emperor and law-giver of Rome, and it is with eternal justice that the Atonement deals. From the standpoint of human law Dante seems to take the strange view that the condemnation of Christ by Pilate was a just act, and it is probably for that reason that there is no mention of Pilate in the *Inferno*. One is conscious of the true mediaeval and scholastic outlook in the following mysterious lines :

God therefore and the Jews one sentence pleased :
So different effects flowed from one act,
And heaven was opened, though the earth did quake.
Count it not hard henceforth when thou dost hear
That a just vengeance was by righteous court
Justly revenged.

In this subtle reasoning Dante is departing from his master Aquinas, who only admits that the guilt of the Romans was less than that of the Jews because they did not know the Scriptures. A brief comment of Dr. Carroll's is all that we can add to this obscure thought : 'Hence arises a twofold and apparently contradictory aspect of the crucifixion. Looked at in relation to the nature assumed which fell away from God in self will, the penalty of the Cross was the perfection of justice. Looked at in relation to the Person who assumed it and suffered—the Word of God—there never was so great an injury.' However it

may be with us this subtle reasoning satisfies Dante. He even goes so far as to say that it is 'plain.' But the solution of one problem has only suggested another.

Wherefore God this way
For our redemption chose, eludes my search.

Beatrice answers that only two ways were possible : either that God of His courtesy should simply release man from the debt that he owed, or that man himself should make atonement. That answer leads us to the crucial passage :

Man in himself had ever lacked the means
Of satisfaction, for he could not stoop,
Obeying, in humility so low,
As high, he disobeying, thought to soar ;
And for this reason he had vainly tried
Out of his own sufficiency to pay
The rigid satisfaction. Then behoved
That God should by His own ways lead him back
Unto the life from which he fell, restored ;
By both his ways I mean, or one alone.
But since the deed is ever prized the more
The more the doer's good intent appears,
Goodness celestial, whose broad signature
Is on the universe, of all its ways
To raise us up, was fain to leave out none.
Nor aught so vast or so magnificent,
Either for him who gave or who received,
Between the last night and primal day,
Was or can be. For God more bounty showed,
Giving Himself to make man capable
Of his return to life, than had the terms
Been mere and unconditional release.
And for his justice, every method else
Were all too scant, had not the Son of God
Humbled Himself to put on mortal flesh.

We find Dante using the words satisfaction and even vengeance, words from which so many thoughtful minds shrink to-day. But there is much more than that. Dante seems to imply that God could have wrought out man's redemption without the Cross, but He chose that way because

it was the highest and the best. To use our more modern phraseology, Dante's doctrine of Atonement is that of the forensic theory, but it is the forensic theory moralized. One might even go so far as to say that no modern theological writer has come nearer to harmonizing the legal and moral theories of Atonement. But with all his exposition the deep note of mystery remains with him as it does with us all.

Brother no eye of man not perfected,
Nor fully ripened in the flame of love,
May fathom this decree.

Even the most cursory sketch of Dante's doctrine of Sin and Atonement would not be complete without a closing word on his conception of faith. When he meets St. Peter in the eighth heaven of the fixed stars the apostle catechizes him about faith. Dante quotes the definition in Heb. xi., which of course he attributes to St. Paul :

Sire,
E'en as set down by the unerring style
Of thy dear brother, who with thee conspired
To bring Rome in unto the way of life,
Faith of things hoped is substance, and the proof
Of things not seen ; and herein doth consist,
Methinks, its essence. ' Rightly hast thou deemed,'
Was answered, ' if thou well discern why first
He hath defined it substance and then proof.'
' The deep things,' I replied, ' which here I scan
Distinctly, are below, from mortal eye
So hidden, they have in belief alone
Their being, on which credence hope sublime
Is built ; and therefore substance it intends.
And inasmuch as we must needs infer
From such belief our reasoning, all respect
To other view excluded, hence of proof
The intention is derived.

First the question what faith is, and then a further question as to whether he really grasps the meaning of the words he has used. *Substantia* is that which stands under, the foundation upon which to build, and Dante uses the word

in this sense, but he adds to it another word which is not in the Epistle to the Hebrews, but was one of the fundamental words of the scholastic theologians—the word ‘intention’: ‘*E pero di sustanzia prende intenza*’ (‘Faith takes the intention of substance’). Now intention contains the idea of will—the will stretching itself out towards the goal. The whole passage is really Thomas Aquinas done into verse.

He writes in the *Summa*: ‘Therefore in this fashion faith is said to be the substance of things hoped for, because the first beginning of things hoped for is in us by the assent of faith, which virtually contains all things hoped for. Faith is a habit of mind by which eternal life is begun in us, making the intellect to assent to things that are not apparent.’ So that for Dante faith is placed among the substances before it is placed among the arguments. In simpler language, faith is an act of the heart and will before it is an act of the intellect.

To quote once more from Aquinas: ‘When a man has a prompt will to believe, he loves the truth believed, and thinks it over, and embraces any arguments that he can find in its favour.’ But it is one thing to know what faith means and another thing to have faith for oneself, and so the next question is a personal one:

Current is the coin
Thou utterest, both in weight and in alloy,
But tell me if thou hast it in thy purse.

This is Dante’s splendid and confident reply:

‘Even so glittering and so round,’ said I,
‘I not a whit misdoubt if its assay.’

St. Peter then asks Dante how he found this precious gift. The answer and the further argument that follow it is singularly modern and realistic. In effect it is this: Dante got his faith from the Bible, from the Old and New Testaments. But how did he know the Bible was true?

Because of the miracles. But is he not arguing in a circle—that he believes the Bible because of the miracles, and believes the miracles because they are in the Bible? And his answer is 'No,' because both are confirmed by the facts of history and experience.

'Wherefore holdest thou that each,
The elder proposition and the new,
Which so persuade thee, are the voice of heaven?'
'The works that followed evidence their truth,'
I answered; 'Nature did not make for these
The iron hot, or on her anvil mould them.'
'Who voucheth to thee of the works themselves,'
Was the reply, 'that they in very deed
Are what they purport? None hath sworn so to thee.'
'That all the world,' said I, 'should have been turned
To Christian, and no miracle be wrought
Would in itself be such a miracle
That all the rest were not an hundredth part so great.'

Dantè's doctrine of faith is Catholic because he accepts the dogmas of the Church, but it is Protestant because it is an act of his own will and mind. Faith to him is not so much an intellectual assent to a creed as it is a personal possession and a spiritual experience. So he makes his 'Pilgrim's Progress' from 'the state of misery to the state of felicity,' from the rough, tangled forest through the circles of the Inferno, up the steep terraces of the Mount of Purification, till he enters the terrestrial Paradise on the summit. And thence ever upwards through the stars, until the journey is ended and the goal is reached, until he has attained to the vision and the fruition of God. As Dr. Wicksteed says, he would have subscribed his name to some great words that were to be written long centuries after he had composed the *Comedy* in his lonely exile: 'Man's chief end is to glorify God and to enjoy Him for ever.'

Here vigour failed the tow'ring phantasy,
But yet the will rolled onward, like a wheel
In even motion, by the Love impelled
That moves the sun in heaven and all the stars.

PERCY L. WATCHURST.

A NEW OUTLOOK IN BIOLOGY.

MR. HERMANN REINHEIMER, in a series of volumes, has given to the world a re-interpretation of the evolution theory which is of the highest importance for biology, and, as must needs be in this connexion, for every science that has to do with human life. Before presenting a brief outline of Reinheimer's theories it is necessary to say a little about the evolution theory, and in particular about Darwinism. The modern evolution theory of the descent of all living species of organisms through the modification of older species which run back eventually to a common stock begins with Buffon, a hundred years before Darwin's work was published. After Buffon, the theory was elaborated especially by Erasmus Darwin, Lamarck, Robert Chambers, the St. Hilaires, and Herbert Spencer, but it made almost no general headway. The facts were too new and unusual, and orthodox science was committed to the fixity of species. On the religious side, the first chapter of Genesis opposed an apparently insurmountable obstacle. However, an immense change took place with the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species* in 1859. This work, followed up by several others, produced such a revolution in human thought as had never been known before, and when Darwin died in 1882, it might be said that the whole scientific world accepted Darwinian evolution as a fundamental principle, and religious thought had pretty well accommodated itself to the new situation.

The question naturally arises as to what it was in Darwin's presentation of the theory which produced this vast change. The full answer would be very complex, but of the immediately

¹ Works by Hermann Reinheimer: *Nutrition and Evolution* (Watkins); *Survival and Reproduction* (Watkins); *Evolution by Co-operation* (Kegan Paul); *Symbiogenesis* (Knapp, Drewett & Sons); *Symbiosis* (Headley Bros.); *Symbiosis v. Cancer* (Headley Bros.).

discernible causes we may emphasize two, first, the admirable marshalling of fresh evidence for the general theory, and, secondly, the subsidiary theory of natural selection, which, though it was not new, was generally unnoticed until simultaneously presented by Darwin and Wallace to the Linnean Society in 1858.

The theory of natural selection is based upon two main facts of organic life, namely (a) the fact that every organism varies slightly from others, in all sorts of ways, and (b) the fertility of organisms, which tend to multiply in ratios of geometrical progression. This leads to the birth of far more individuals than any given area can support, with inevitable competition, as the result of which those which have a slight advantage over others will survive, and reproduce their kind. Moreover, it is of the essence of the theory that the variations are purely 'accidental.' Design is ruled out, as also (in the more recent forms of the theory) the inheritance of acquired characters, and the influence of the environment; and thus we have a wholly mechanical theory, which can be applied without any embarrassing complication as to mind and purpose and desire, either within the organism or outside it. Individual variations are 'given,' and their fate depends on their success in defeating all competitors in the universal struggle for existence. Those which thus survive are reckoned 'fit,' and the defeated 'unfit.' Despite all sorts of tinkering, the theory stands to-day pretty much as Darwin left it. With the re-discovery of Mendel's work in 1900 the new science of genetics came into being, and at present flourishes amazingly. The new facts which emerged—namely, the independence of unit-characters in inheritance—and the occurrence of discontinuous and often large variations (mutations) which are not necessarily swamped by crossing, at first suggested that considerable modifications of Darwinism would have to be made. But biologists¹ are fairly

¹ *Science Progress*, Oct., 1921, Julian S. Huxley, pp. 239, 240, 244.

agreed to-day that evolution depends on variations which, though 'discontinuous,' are very small, and though the mechanism by which variations are transmitted has been discovered—and it is a process of bewildering intricacy and beauty—that the origin of the variations must still be ascribed to 'accident.' Bateson's address at Toronto in 1921 on 'Evolutionary Faith and Modern Doubts' tells us that we have 'no acceptable account of the origin of "species,"' and no evidence at all as to how variations arise. We can pull to pieces and recombine the elements of organisms, with astonishing results; but how they were originally built up we do not know.

On the other hand, it must be said that the criticism of the theory of natural selection has been thorough and convincing. In order to understand it at all we must clearly distinguish it from the theory of evolution in general, which has been confirmed by an ever-increasing mass of evidence. The mischief is, that in *The Origin of Species*, and in Darwin's work generally, the theory of natural selection was so mixed up with the general theory that the two were more or less identified. Butler said acutely, 'It will take years to get the evolution theory out of the mess in which Mr. Darwin has left it. He was heir to a discredited truth; he left behind him an accredited fallacy.'

The confusion starts with the title of his great work, which is *The Origin of Species by means of Natural Selection or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life*. Now it is evident that natural selection is a purely lethal, negative principle; it can by no means account for the origin of anything at all. It is master of one sole method, and in all contingencies can only say, like the Queen of Hearts, 'Off with his head.' Yet to this very day there are biologists who talk about the 'creative power of natural selection.' Another source of confusion is that, although the principle of natural selection is automatic and mechanical, its operation is constantly described in the language of

design, and its results as if planned with the most meticulous foresight. Natural selection has no criterion of status, value, and quality. Whatever survives is, by that fact alone, stamped by its hall-mark which certifies the tapeworm and the liver-fluke equally with the ant and the primate. But 'we cannot remain satisfied with any theory which does not allow for evolution by quality.'

Natural selection has attained such an uncanny ascendancy over men's minds that practically every fact of organic nature has somehow been forced to conform to it, not only the facts which point to competition and conflict, but those which point to the avoidance of it; not only mutual struggle, but mutual aid; not only destructive selfishness, but symbiotic unselfishness. According to natural selection, properly understood, there is no morality and no mercy, but ruthless self-assertion. It is the principle that might is right, and that robbery and murder are justified by success.

A paragraph may be quoted from one of Reinheimer's articles which puts a few more technical but important points. 'The Darwinian school took no account of evolutionary physiology, of the causes leading to the progressive endowment of the protoplasm, or the biology of food. They paid no attention to the causation of disease, degeneration and extinction, to genetic physiology, the interaction and interdependence of life; to correlation, compensation, progress, and status. They neglected evolutionary psychology, never reflecting on the ways in which mind and will became manifest in body by means of effort and action.'

If there really is such a case against natural selection, one asks why it has had such large scientific support. No doubt this is partly because it was confused with the general theory of descent, partly because it appropriated so many facts which do not properly support it at all, and partly, alas, because a theory of Nature, 'red in tooth and claw,'

¹ *The Statesman*, December 24, 1922.

seems a very fitting prelude to the ghastly history of human feuds and wars. But another very important reason may be that no positive principle has been discovered and elaborated which could more adequately interpret the history of organisms.

Due justice must be done to the fact that an increasing amount of attention has been drawn to the evidences of co-operation, altruism, and self-sacrifice in the lower realms of Nature, notably by such writers as Henry Drummond, Prince Kropotkin, Patrick Geddes, and Arthur Thomson; but these facts have not been correlated and presented in any set of positive principles. Herbert Spencer laboured hard to do full justice to the altruistic elements of organic and human life; but he took altruism to be a secondary principle, ultimately to be justified by the primary principle of egoism, nor did he approach these problems from the point of view of the whole, a serious defect which must be charged against biology generally. It is only right to say that Reinheimer has worked out a thorough and complete system, on sound biological foundations, which *does* provide a positive theory of evolution, in which natural selection assumes a secondary and more modest function.

The basal problem of every organism is that of *nutrition*. Food is the first requirement, and the quality and amount of food ingested has a profound effect on the structure and development of the organism. It is vitally important that it should be pure, and of the right kind, and taken with restraint. The procuring of food involves work, which opens out infinite possibilities of co-operation and specialization on various tasks, for the common good. The great and all-pervading example of this division of labour is given in the differentiation of plant and animal organisms; and the history of evolution is the history of the interrelated development of these two great kingdoms of organic life. The plant has undertaken the task of transforming the inorganic material of the soil and atmosphere into organic products

of very high potentiality, and of placing them at the disposal of the animal as the means of still higher progress and attainment. The value and success of this division of labour must depend on the loyalty of each order of life to the other. The plant must not shirk its duties towards the inorganic elements, and the animal must behave towards the plant with restraint, and must render due return for value received. How this works out on a large scale is seen, for instance, in the fact that the plant yields to the animal the oxygen which is released in the photosynthetic processes of the leaf, and itself requires the carbonic acid gas which animals give off in respiration. In general, the animal maintains its life by feeding on the surplus supplies of the plant, and responds by disseminating the seeds from which new plants will grow. Another outstanding example is seen in the wonderful arrangements by which, in return for the nectar of the flower, the insects effect cross-fertilization, and thus maintain the continued life and vigour of the plant-species. Behind all such developments there are the co-operative activities of many species of bacteria, which prepared both land and ocean for colonization by higher forms of life, and upon whose work all higher life still depends. 'The nitrates formed by the symbiotic industry of bacteria are, of course, of immense value, and are practically indispensable to the bio-chemistry of the higher plants and animals. The higher forms of bacteria are also capable, in virtue of symbiosis, of enriching the soil and plant by the fixation of atmospheric nitrogen.'

We thus reach the position that evolution is essentially a process of progressive co-operation, and the vital functions of nutrition and reproduction are throughout conditioned by this ruling law. Organic life is a whole, of which each species and each individual is a part; and neither can live by themselves and for themselves without transgressing the laws of co-operation. We see in the attitude taken up by

¹ *Symbiosis*, pp. 7, 8.

any organism towards its environment, both animate and inanimate, the manifestation of choice and purpose, of sensibility and intelligence and conscience, or of activities which we can only properly describe by the use of such terms. They may be summed up in one word, 'autonomy.' Every organism possesses, or is possessed by, a 'directive soul,' an 'inherent formative impulse.' It is 'an active, self-assertive, self-adapted living creature, to some extent master of its fate.' It has two ways before it, and whether it takes the upward or the downward path depends partly upon its loyalty to the interests and progress of other organisms, and to the laws of the whole, and partly upon its own self-mastery and restraint, which comes to very much the same thing.

All the facts illustrating this universal principle of co-operation are included by Reinheimer under the term symbiosis, and the whole process of evolution, from this point of view, he designates symbiogenesis. He defines symbiosis as 'that system of mutuality (whether between units and units, or males and females, or species and species, or genera and genera, or, finally, and very importantly, between the 'kingdoms' on the grand scale of Nature) under which, whilst one part or party devotes itself to one kind of work and yields benefits to others, those others, jointly and severally in their turn performing their special duties, yield benefits to the first in exchange.'

'Symbiosis is a distinctive principle in Nature, and it entails a definite pathway of life, the principle of *do ut des*, as distinguished from that of predacity. It involves forbearance with life, a steady and reliable disposition to social conduct, and, accordingly, considerable restraint in matters of food and reproduction.' 'Symbiosis is the ideal method of solving the economic problem of existence. It is an association in which both partners thrive, the direct antithesis to parasitism, which involves one-sided exploitation of

¹ *Symbiosis*, p. 45.

² *Psyche*, July, 1922, p. 23.

organism by organism, with ensuing impoverishment of each—a distinction which is fundamental and absolutely vital to be drawn if the problems of the web of life are to be rationally solved.’¹ ‘Nothing, in fact, at the present day wants emphasizing more than that the whole organic world is primarily and normally based on mutualist relations, and that every step that transgresses these relations leads towards degeneration and decline.’²

The main fact of evolution is thus declared to be a great co-operative movement, which may be called symbiogenesis. ‘I claim the great principle underlying all creative life, all progressive evolution, to be that of “symbiogenesis,” i.e. the mutual production and symbiotic utilization of biological values by the united and correlated efforts of organisms of all descriptions.’³

It will be seen at once that this principle, applied systematically to the interpretation of the evolutionary process, will put a new complexion on biology. It will ‘emphasize the more hopeful and creditable gospel of evolution as now widely held, in which the law of co-operation is recognized as equally basic in nature with that of competition, and as having an equally ancient and more progressive application, so as to form in the advanced stages of biological and human development the really and increasingly predominant factor.’⁴

It must be noted in this connexion that Reinheimer uses the term ‘symbiosis’ in a very much wider sense than has hitherto been usual. Some criticisms of his work evidently ignore this fact. Technically, ‘symbiosis’ has been the name given to certain cases in which organisms of different orders live in such close relations as to form practically one body. The best-known example of this is the lichen family, in which a fungus and an alga enter into a vital partnership,

Symbiosis v. Cancer, p. 35.

¹ *Evolution by Co-operation*, p. 188.

² *Symbiogenesis*, p. xv.

³ *Symbiosis*, p. 53.

through which they reach a higher status than either could attain alone. The lichen is the foremost of plant pioneers, being able to withstand great extremes of temperature, and to disintegrate solid rock, and thus to prepare a soil for still higher organisms. Other examples are the alga-cum-sponge symbiosis, and the 'plant-animals,' which are marine worms, sea-anemones, and other creatures, which habitually have large numbers of algae living in their tissues, in healthy co-partnership.

Reinheimer maintains that the principle operates far beyond such special cases of local attachment. 'It must be clear that symbiosis is constituted by systematic biological co-operation, or partnership, and that the distance at which the participants carry on their partnership matters comparatively little. What matters is that the associates assist rather than hinder each other, that they maintain a co-operative reciprocal differentiation. They need not be physically attached to one another like the lichen-partners. They may be free partners, yet mutually dependent and constantly employed in the business of give and take, as instanced in the case of the flower and the bee.'

The whole realm of organic life is linked up into a unity by the symbiotic fellowship of plants and animals. An outstanding example of this is the co-operation of plants and animals (chiefly insects) in securing cross-fertilization. In the pollen and nectar the insect receives food-products of high grade, and in return effects the cross-fertilization which is one main condition of the health and progress of plant-species. Similarly, birds and animals which feed on seeds, nuts, and fruits repay their debt by distributing the seeds far and wide, in various ways. The sexual dimorphism which overwhelmingly preponderates in the animal world is also to be viewed as an outworking of progressive symbiosis. 'The evolution of sex may be justly viewed as due to the perfection and expansion of symbiosis.' In symbiosis,

¹ *Symbiosis v. Cancer*, pp. 45, 46.

² *Symbiosis*, p. 66.

carried out in connexion with the basal processes of nutrition and reproduction, we have a criterion of value which can be applied to the whole evolutionary scheme, to very great advantage.

In formulating the laws of nutrition, Reinheimer employs the terms 'in-feeding' and 'cross-feeding.' 'The term "in-feeding" is used to denominate the indolent appropriation of food manufactured by close relatives in the biological scale, and the correlated shirking of the economic duty of production or of mutual service of some kind. The term "cross-feeding," on the other hand, designates the norm of healthy feeding, associated with symbiotic endeavour, and—so far as the animal is concerned—generally with the ingestion of properly matured surplus products of plant life, which represent the food ideally adapted to the requirements of the animal world.'¹ Thus, provided that plants confine themselves to transforming inorganic matter into organic, they are on the line of biological rectitude, and are doing work which is raised to still higher values by the co-operation of animal life. On the other hand, plants which live wholly or partly on other plants, or upon animal food, are failing to fulfil their vocation; they are disloyal and degenerate. So for animals the biologically sound method of nutrition is that they should feed, temperately, upon plant life; and in this connection great emphasis is placed on the high nutritive value of what Drummond called 'love-foods.' These—'milk, the date, the raisin, the banana, and the bread-fruit, the locust and the honey, the eggs, the grains, the cereals, and the legumes—constitute the great bulk of the foods of the world.'² They contain the all-important elements, the vitamins, absolutely essential for life, which animals are incapable of making for themselves. The 'love-foods' are special surplus-products, prepared for the mutual benefit both of plant and animal; for they indirectly ensure the continuance of the plant-species, and

¹ *Symbiosis*, p. 28.

² *Symbiogenesis*, p. 28.

supply food which the animal can freely use without injury to the plant. The cross-feeding animal is at once receiving the most health-giving kind of food, and rendering reciprocal services to the plants which supply the food.

The application of this principle has important results. It follows that every form of in-feeding is perilous, and tends to degeneration. It produces a general predisposition to disease, and it favours, in many cases, a morbid tendency to monstrosity. In-feeding includes in one category all carnivorism, insectivorism, and parasitism, in every shape and form. The highest types are not predatory. The carnivores have developed their fangs at the cost of their brains; they have forfeited most of the advantages of social life; they are extraordinarily susceptible to disease and parasitism. Reinheimer says that the common idea that the assimilation of one animal by another represents the norm of life 'is one of the most monstrous aberrations of the human mind.'

The lowest stage of degeneracy is seen in parasitism. This is in-feeding, indulged in without any of the activity involved in carnivorism. It is the most slothful and criminal of all methods of organic life; it produces every degree of degeneracy in the physique of the parasite, which may become little else than mouth, claws, and stomach; in the animal world it always has carnivorism as a precedent condition; it involves complete repudiation of all symbiotic function and endeavour; it is a widespread cause of disease; it is, supremely, the survival of the least fit. It is much to be regretted that biology, working with the bare criterion of 'survival,' has confused symbiosis with parasitism, and has failed to recognize the latter as pathological, and, biologically speaking, a breach of all the highest laws of life. Reinheimer devotes a great deal of attention to the discussion and proof of the pathological and pathogenic character of parasitism, in all its forms and degrees.

In the scheme of evolution here presented the dominant

principles are the solidarity of the entire complex of organic life, together with the autonomy of the individual organism, and its corresponding responsibility to the whole. The value and success of any organism or any species is to be estimated according to its capacity for co-operative *work*, self-restraint in all matters connected with food and reproduction, refusal to exploit other organisms for selfish purposes, rejection of slothful and easy-going ways of living, and obedience to the Golden Rule of reciprocity, in the determination not to get all that is possible for nothing, but always to give a little more than is received.

It is unhappily true that in the realm of organic life very many species have chosen the broad road that leads to degeneration. They have survived, but at the cost of character and usefulness. In many cases they have sacrificed quality to quantity, whether in numbers or in mere bulk, or have specialized in depredation, to their own undoing and ultimate extinction. It is upon these lawless ones that the worst nemesis of over-production comes. Over these natural selection perpetually holds its sword. They are the truly unfit. The loyal and co-operative species, workers, and producers of new values, have much less to fear. In any case, the direction and progress, beauty and success, of organisms has always been won, and will continue to be won, by co-operative purpose and endeavour, whilst those which choose the selfish life, though they may cling hard to existence, and may long evade their fate, will certainly in the end be eliminated.

Reinheimer's aim, in all his writings, is to establish for biology a true standard of values. 'From the first to the last, *I affirm that everything in biology is a matter of values, and not merely of numbers.*' Evolution is 'a qualitative process with a strong bio-moral sanction behind it, and without needing any mysterious operation of "chance" or "natural selection."' 'Although in sheer numbers the robbers and parasites may succeed, yet it is the armies of

the workers which support and primarily determine evolution.' It is by what an organism is in itself, in its own inner character and energy, that its destiny is determined. 'We have no conception of any force emanating from external things which shall mould the structure of an organism in harmony with themselves.'

The recognition of values in the organic world brings the whole course of evolution to the test of moral principles. In fact, 'no biology can be complete without the recognition of "the everlasting difference between right and wrong."' 'One day, I trust, the civilized world will understand that the evolutionary process is calculated to develop nothing to a greater degree than ethics . . . which, as I hope I have shown, begins in a sense in the sub-human world, wherever the law of co-operation overrides that of competition. For it will be seen on any careful review of biological history that never at any time have organisms been permitted to go their own way unchecked and uncontrolled by other than selfish considerations, or to follow for long the path of least resistance as far as appetites and desires go except at their own risk and to their own injury.'

Whole-heartedly to accept this position must involve the reconsideration and reversal of much that has been basal in the modern (Darwinian) outlook on ethics, politics, political economy, and human relations generally. The acceptance of natural selection as the first law of nature has brutalized all our social relations, and led to the utmost confusion in philosophy, as applied to them. 'Natural science seemed to support the view that war, with its tyrannies and brutalities, was the parent of all progress.' 'When the "Psychology of Science" is fully written some day, it will be seen that Darwinism, with its doctrine of mere expediency, has much to answer for in present-day degeneracy.' 'That the race is only to the swift and the battle to the strong;

¹ *Evolution by Co-operation*, p. 143, quoting Argyll's *Reign of Law*.

² *Symbiogenesis*, pp. 397, 398.

³ *Symbiosis v. Cancer*, p. 64.

that man's life and actions are ruled by inexorable laws which it is futile to endeavour to resist—this is the kind of mental attitude which the acceptance of Darwinism has caused very widely to prevail.' No one has emphasized this condition of things more strongly than Benjamin Kidd, and, as we think, justly. He says that our civilization 'is a state of permanent war—relentless, remorseless, truth-extinguishing, primitive war throughout all our institutions, national, political, social and economic.' 'Darwinism is, in short, the science of the causes which have made those who were efficient in the struggle for their own interests supreme and omnipotent in the world.' The acceptance of this great fallacy, worked out with the thorough-going logic of the German mind, was the chief intellectual cause of the Great War. It has led to the impasse indicated by Huxley when he said that the cosmic process is, *in all respects*, the opposite of the ethical, and by Kidd when he says, 'There is no rational sanction for the conditions of progress,' and, 'A rational religion is a scientific impossibility.' To recognize that the system of Nature is fundamentally moral, and that war and selfish competition are biologically abnormal and unnatural, will in the end involve a regeneration of human social theory.

In theology also great results should follow. It is amazing that, though theologians so fiercely resisted at first the doctrine of the unity by descent of all organic life, with the higher and nobler theory of creation which it rendered possible, they not only accepted the Darwinian reading of the struggle for existence with very little protest, but proceeded to justify it by reasons of their own. No doubt the unhappy record of human war and tyranny made this seem a reasonable procedure. Even to-day man is described by a not unknown theologian as the fiercest animal in all God's creation. On the contrary, in spite of all lapses, he

¹ *Symbiogenesis* p. 381.

² *Science of Power*, p. 177.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

has behind him the noblest record of progressive symbiotic endeavour. He certainly never had 'the tiger' amongst his ancestry; and if he 'simulates the action of the tiger,' it is by a shameful betrayal of his higher nature. His physical status is itself an index of moral achievement. Nevertheless, as man, he has still a great way to go, and wherein he has come short, he has suffered terribly, that sin might be seen to be exceeding sinful. The misreading of Nature has created extraordinary difficulties for the doctrine of Providence, difficulties so great as to constitute a serious obstacle in the way of belief in a moral Creator and Heavenly Father. A truer biology will bring great relief here, as in other matters with which there is not space to deal.

This article is a very inadequate attempt to bring out the salient features of work which ought to be considered very carefully by all who are guides of present-day thought. Reinheimer's reconstruction is not complete, naturally, and there are still many gaps and difficulties; but we are convinced that he is on right lines as a whole. Many criticisms in detail might be suggested, and, in fact, have been carefully considered; but they would not cancel the main principles here expounded. What one may reasonably ask is that those to whom many doubts and difficulties may occur as they read this abstract will go to the works themselves, which are rich in concrete illustrations, and give the whole case a fair hearing. It should be said that Reinheimer's interests in all his work are purely biological. He has no ethical or theological axe to grind. He was led into the work from the approach of medicine and physiology, in the attempt to trace the first causes and symptoms of disease. The writer of the present article owes much to his personal kindness and help in its preparation.

T. STEPHENSON.

SOME FACTORS IN THE RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT OF PASCAL

HIPPOLYTE TAINÉ has declared that every great writer is the product of his nationality and environment. It may be doubted whether this explains the individuality of Pascal any more than it does that of Shakespeare and Wagner; rather, like them, he is beyond our span. But, granting that there is in him the indefinable element of genius, his interests were yet so many-sided and his experiences so various that one understands his work much better if one knows something of the setting of time and circumstance. And so in this article we shall attempt to describe some of the influences which helped to mould the thought of this great writer, and indicate some lines of approach to his works.

I

Blaise Pascal was born in 1623 at Clermond-Ferrand, in Auvergne, his parents being of noble descent. His mother died when he was three years old, and perhaps it is to the lack of maternal tenderness that we may attribute the tinge of harshness and austerity that we sometimes find in Pascal.¹ From his father, Etienne Pascal, he inherited both his love for science and his tendency to believe in the supernatural. From his earliest days the boy showed a keenness of intelligence beyond his years, taking part in the conversations of scientists and scholars, who were 'astonished at his understanding and answers.' It is said that when Pascal was about eleven years old the father was afraid that the instinctive bent which the boy showed for mathematics might interfere with his studies in languages, and took away his scientific books and instruments; but Pascal then, by

¹ See Souriau's *Pascal*, p. 14.

means of chalk diagrams traced on the ground in his spare time, worked out for himself the thirty-second proposition of the book of Euclid. Indeed, through all his life those involved calculations which most people find so difficult were Pascal's recreations ; he had a congenital taste for them, and had to restrain himself from pursuing them. In 1630 the family removed to Paris, where he was soon admitted to the meetings of savants, and at sixteen he wrote a treatise on conic sections which called forth the incredulous astonishment of Descartes, and indeed forms the foundation of the modern treatment of the subject.

Pascal's first 'conversion' took place in 1646, but it seems to have been little more than an intellectual assent to the doctrines of Jansenism. At all events, we find him soon afterwards lecturing to fashionable audiences in Paris, and joining in the brilliant social life of the capital. There he became friendly with several noblemen. It seems fairly certain, too, that he was at some time in love, for his *Discours sur les Passions de l'Amour* seems to be inspired by a genuine if not very profound sentiment.

But during these years he was thinking deeply about religion, and in 1654 came his second conversion. There were several factors which helped to bring about this great spiritual crisis. One was the entry of his sister Jacqueline as a nun into Port Royal in 1642. 'From henceforth for that passionate and ardent soul there was no other desire, after the interest in her own salvation, than that of leading her gifted brother into the real knowledge of God.' Again, there was a journey into Poitou with a nobleman named De Méré, who in his conversation showed Pascal there was a spiritual world in which the principles of science did not apply. A third factor was an accident at the Pont de Neuilly, which brought home to him the uncertainty of life. The two leading horses of the landau he was driving took the bit between their teeth at a part of the bridge where there was no rail and fell into the river ; but the reins

which attached them to the team broke, so that the carriage stopped short on the brink of the abyss. His sister, Mme. Perier, says that 'this decided him to give up altogether his intercourse with the world, and cut off all life's vanities, even at the cost of his health, because he believed that salvation was preferable to all other things.'

But the moment that for ever remained sacred in his memory was a remarkable night of spiritual ecstasy, commemorated in a few sentences of broken and mystical devotion in his 'Confession of Faith,' or, as Condorcet calls it, his 'Amulet.' This was found after his death, copied in his own handwriting and sewn into his doublet, being apparently stitched afresh into every change of garments. In it he made an entire surrender to Jesus Christ and renounced the world.

From henceforth the life of Pascal was bound up with Port Royal, the retreat for pious laymen in the Chevreuse valley. There, in the intervals of terrible bodily suffering, he made notes for a great apology of Christianity, by which he hoped to vindicate religion in the eyes of intelligent men. He died in 1662, 'a sword that had worn out its scabbard.'

Besides the influences of home and outward environment we must take account of Jansenism, the theological system of Port Royal. Jansenism arose through Jansen, Bishop of Ypres, whose *Augustinus*, published in 1640, professed to expound the teaching of St. Augustine; but in reality it carried to an extreme his doctrine of the sovereignty of God. Grace was exalted at the expense of free will. All depended on divine power, which had predestined a very few to salvation and the rest of the world to perdition. Such a belief tended to produce a very gloomy and harsh kind of religion, and we find this in Pascal when he is trying to be consistent with his theory. He often seems doubtful whether he is one of the elect ten thousand. Happily, however, his very real sense of fellowship with Christ sometimes makes him forget his fears, and there break out

expressions of confidence, such as 'Thou wouldst not seek me if Thou didst not know me.'

Another prominent feature of Jansenism was its rigorous asceticism, and this Pascal practised with all the enthusiasm of his nature after his entry into Port Royal. Besides giving up his servants and renouncing all his former studies, he wore next his skin a girdle of iron full of points, which, whenever he felt assailed by wandering thoughts, he would press into his flesh to remind him of his duty. He even objected to Mme. Perier's fondling her children in his presence, as this tended to entice him back to worldly affections. The idea underlying all this self-mortification seems to have been that the Christian must share the sufferings of Christ. 'It seems one of the great principles of Christianity,' he wrote in 1651, after a first reading of the *Augustinus*, 'that all that took place in Jesus Christ must take place in the body and soul of every Christian. As Jesus Christ suffered and died to this mortal life, rose again, ascended to heaven, and sits at the right hand of God, so our body and soul must suffer and die, rise again, ascend to heaven, and sit at the right hand of God.' These two ideas of election and the need for bodily mortification colour many of the views of Pascal, and it is necessary constantly to bear them in mind when reading his works.

II

There are four outstanding theological writings of Pascal. Of these we shall not here deal with the *Lettres Provinciales*, which, though intensely interesting in their origin, and forming a landmark in French literature, do not give much indication of the progress of Pascal's religious thought. There are, however, three other works by which the careful reader can discern the direction in which he was travelling. The first of these, the *Prayer on Behalf of the Sick*, was written before he entered Port Royal, after one of the many attacks of illness which laid him low; and in it he shows how alive he

was to those obstinate questionings on the problem of pain which haunt the intelligent people of all ages. As he ponders over his own malady his sense of the sovereignty of God brings him to the conclusion that suffering is really a good. Thus he anticipates the optimism of Leibnitz. The next important work was the *Entretien Avec M. Sacy*, his spiritual director at Port Royal; and in it his glowing imagination and brilliant rhetoric find full scope. He examines and contrasts the theories of the Greek philosopher Epictetus and the French writer Montaigne, showing the strength and weakness of each; and at the end, in a curiously modern summary, he shows how the best points of each are contained in the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation.

But the work in which Pascal's own heart and his attitude to religion are most fully revealed is known as the *Pensées*. These were really detached thoughts jotted down in preparation for a great apology for Christianity, which he projected but did not live to complete. They were pieced together after his death in what was thought to be the best logical sequence, though the actual order in which Pascal intended to place them is still a matter of dispute. Fragmentary though they are, they form one of the abiding treasures of the Christian Church, taking rank on the devotional side with such works as St. Augustine's *Confessions*, while on the philosophical side they are worthy of comparison with Descartes' *Méditations*.

In the *Pensées* Pascal touches on almost every subject under the sun. There are notes on mathematics; others on art, style, and good taste; shrewd political philosophy, as in the chapter on justice; a section on miracles; allegorical comments on the Old and New Testaments; intense devotional passages, such as the '*Mystère de Jésus*'; passages of mordant satire, typical products of the *esprit gaulois*; and sublime flights of thought akin to those of Plato's *Dialogues*. All these coruscate with brilliant metaphors and similes which serve to indicate the author's

genius for analogy. The powers of Pascal are seen at their highest in the marvellous fragment on the *Deux Infinies*, 'the noblest passage in French literature.' It is not too much to say that if one grasps the meaning of this section one has the key to the *Pensées*, and indeed to the heart, of Pascal.

III

The way is now open to consider Pascal's approach to religion. Apart from the brilliance of his outward career, his life was a spiritual pilgrimage towards a satisfactory view of the universe. It is difficult always to follow the steps of so many-sided an author; but some facts clearly emerge:

1. The strong bent of Pascal towards mathematics naturally inclined him to follow and obey reason, and it was this belief in intellectual processes which drew him towards Descartes, who tried to explain the universe in terms of mind. 'I think, therefore I am,' was the starting-point from which the philosopher gained, to his own satisfaction, not only the assurance of his own reality, but the proof of God and the external world.

But an acute thinker such as Pascal, following closely the Cartesian argument, was bound to become aware of the gaps in the system, especially the unwarrantable leap from the reality of self to the reality of an external world.¹ That unknown region was assumed without the proofs which a trained mind like Pascal's would be sure to demand. This dissatisfaction with Descartes was powerfully helped by Pascal's reading of Montaigne. In the *Apology for Raymond Sebonde* that mocking philosopher sets out to show the fallibility of human intellect. He shows how we are really uncertain of our most elementary postulates such as *I*, *others*, *mind*, and *God*. Our deductions are constantly being proved to be mistaken. We may even be inferior to

¹ See Alexander, *History of Philosophy*, pp. 200-206.

the animals and lower creatures. Montaigne does not say that objective reality does not exist, for that would be to rest upon his own mind, which he is uncertain of. So his philosophical conclusion is a question, *Que sais-je?*—What do I know? Under the influence of Montaigne and his own experience Pascal's attitude to reason became more unfavourable as time went on. In the *Entretien* we find a kindly attitude to philosophers, but in the *Pensées* he treats them with a grim irony which suggests that he despised them in his heart.

2. Neither did the new science which was coming into being through the inductive philosophy receive much favour at the hands of Pascal. In his young days he had been a member of the Paris Club, and was there taught to believe in the reign of universal law. 'All things are caused and causes, acted on and agents, and all are bound together by a natural and invisible chain that links together the farthest and the most unlike.'¹ But as Pascal tried to work out things for himself the question arose whether this postulate of the uniformity of nature was not assumed without sufficient proof; for who has investigated things in their entirety? This is the argument of the *Deux Infinies*. In that famous fragment he shows that there is an infinite universe above our heads and an infinite universe beneath our feet, the one revealed by the astronomer and the other by the microscope. Of these the infinitely great might appear at first sight more wonderful, because it is more evident to simple observation; but research in the other direction shows that the universe beneath our feet is just as complex, and both elude our attempts to comprehend them. The more we try the more worlds are revealed, great in one direction, small in the other.

Man is placed in the midst of these *Deux Infinies*. He has a great desire to understand the universes which surround him, but as he searches he finds a never-ending

¹ *Pensée*, 72, and Welton's *Logic*, vol. ii, pp. 142-143.

regression in each direction, and, moreover, his senses sometimes deceive him; so Pascal declares that he only perceives '*quelque apparence du milieu des choses*'; that is to say, he is forced to judge by the manifestation without understanding the reality. 'Since he is infinitely removed from comprehending the extremes, and the end and the beginning of things are hopelessly hidden from him in impenetrable secrecy, he is equally incapable of seeing the nothing from which he was made, and the Infinity in which he is swallowed up. What shall he do, then, but perceive some appearance of the middle of things in an eternal despair of knowing either their beginning or their end? All things came forth from nothing and are borne on towards the infinite.' So 'one who reflects in this manner will be more disposed to contemplate them with astonishment than to investigate them with presumption.'

3. The rejection of the other claims leads naturally to Pascal's religious position. Only God, who unites these two extremes in Himself, can satisfy the mind and heart, and the way to know God is a faith which is a venture of the self upon the unseen. There is 'the need for the wager.'

So Pascal the man of science becomes Pascal the devotee, his soul aflame with exaltation. Herein he rises superior to Montaigne. The sceptic had been content to laugh and say '*Que sais-je ?*' but Pascal passes from the burden and the weight of all this unintelligible world to the certainty of a God who unifies and controls it.

The subject is a large one, and we have only looked at it from one side. There are other great themes dealt with by which we can here do no more than name—his view of grace, his theory of the Incarnation and the work of the Redeemer, his belief in miracles and the interpretation of prophecy, his mysticism. All these are deserving of

¹ *Pensée*, 72.

further study, but we have said enough to suggest his many points of contact with present-day thought, and the clues he gives to the maze of our questionings. Not that we shall always agree with him. He is a challenging author, and often the judgement rises up in revolt against his strictures. In particular his constant assumption of the separation between God and the world—an obsession due to his Jansenism—tends to irritate the modern mind steeped in the great doctrine of the immanence of God. It is hard too, from the psychological point of view, to see how self-maceration can help to redeem the world. But Pascal is always stimulating, and, even when one feels impelled to deny, the clash may set into motion a new and fruitful train of ideas. And this is surely the chief function of reading; not to offer us ready-made systems of thought which pall by their very completeness, but flashes of insight which light us in our search down the avenues of truth. 'Read . . . not to believe and take for granted, but to weigh and consider.' This is the attitude in which to approach Pascal; and he who thus 'weighs and considers' him will find a rich vein of mental and spiritual suggestion.

HENRY HOGARTH.

A GERMAN VIEW OF RELIGIOUS AND CHURCH LIFE IN ENGLAND.¹

IN his campaign for a warless world Dr. Jowett has urged that we must get the international mind; that it is only by mutual understanding that the nations will discover that common humanity which will enable them to tolerate, and even respect, their differences. The purpose of such understanding is not to increase the self-sufficiency of a nation and its self-satisfaction, but to make the nations more appreciative of one another's excellences. The same end may be furthered by our learning how others see us, what impression we make on other peoples. While the book of which I wish to give some account in this article may render us the second of the services mentioned, I fear it will not render the first of these services to the author's fellow countrymen. While, if we are willing to learn from a German, it might make us humbler, it will not, it seems to me, make Germans more modest.

The intention of the series, of which this is but one volume, is to correct what Germany found out to its loss during the war—its ignorance of the psychology of other peoples. This knowledge is to be gained, not with a view to a warless world, but that Germany may recover its position industrially, commercially, and politically among the nations. Considering the treatment Germany has had from the victors, she must not be blamed if she has not learned to cherish that ideal.

The author of this volume is very well qualified for the task. He has often visited England; he has a wide acquaintance with English literature; he was married to an English wife. The last qualification he describes in the words: 'A

¹ *Religiöses und Kirchliches Leben in England*, von Otto Baumgarten (B. G. Teubner, 1922).

community of soul with a wife rooted in English ways' (p. 3). The spirit in which he approaches his task he himself confesses. 'We wish to set ourselves to this task, *sine ira*, without a comprehensible hatred against our greatest enemies, *et sine studio*, free from preference for a particular form of piety, but not free of appreciation for all that is strong and significant in soul, even in a foreign humanity' (p. 7). Since these words were written I have had the privilege of having had the author as my guest for a week, and from the talks I had with him I gathered that he would not now feel so bitterly towards us, as he learned during his visit that there is a great deal of Christian goodwill in this country, which desires to heal the wounds that war has inflicted on the body of Christ. While it will be necessary for me to refer to the defects in his treatment, and his lapse at times from his own good intentions, I desire at the outset to express the conviction that the writer of this volume desires himself to go beyond the general intention of the series, and to unite again the severed bonds of Christian fellowship between his countrymen and ourselves; and I trust that what I write about his book will help and not hinder this aim.

I. Before dealing with any of the details of his discussion of the subject a few general considerations must be advanced. (i.) There are allusions to Scottish piety, and a very sympathetic account is given of the religious types presented in Ian Maclaren's *Drumtochty*, Carlyle's mother, and Davy Deans (pp. 71-74). Nevertheless, the representation is almost entirely confined to England in the strict use of the term. To have done justice to Scotland a chapter on Scottish Presbyterianism should have followed either Chapter ii., which deals with the Anglican Church, or Chapter iii., which deals with the Nonconformist Churches. It is a merit of the book that the value and importance of Nonconformists in England are recognized in a way that shows greater familiarity than most foreigners display. 'The peculiarity

in the religious life of England is the existence side by side of State and Free Church. Also among us there are, beside the State Church, free, independent congregations ; but they do not form a Church of the land and the people, only small sects, which are without influence on the common life of the people' (p. 29). He recognizes that the Free Churches of England cannot be so described, and that their position of influence in the nation saves them from the narrowness of sectarianism, and gives them even a wide national outlook. As one who was brought up in Scottish Presbyterianism, and even as an English Nonconformist gratefully retains some of its characteristics in conviction and character, I must insist that it forms so distinctive a type, as apart from any question of special value on which I need not express the opinion I hold, to deserve a separate treatment instead of only receiving casual notice in connexion with other types.

(ii.) Full justice, however, is not done to Nonconformity, and the variety of its types is not adequately recognized. The three tendencies in the Church of England are distinguished, and a chapter is devoted to each. There is a chapter on Methodism. The Baptists are associated with the Quakers as illustrating the *life-reforming type*. Smaller sects are also mentioned. But Congregationalism does not receive any separate treatment. It may have been the author's intention to include it, as well as Scottish Presbyterianism, in the *Puritan type* ; but if so, he stops short at Cromwell, and, much as Independents on their platforms invoke that great name, and sometimes in impassioned rhetoric call on him to awake, yet his piety can hardly be regarded as typical of Congregationalism to-day. The omission of both Congregationalism and Scottish Presbyterianism makes religion in this country appear more devoid of culture and scholarship than it really is.

(iii.) This leads us to another defect of the treatment. It is not up to date. One cannot blame the writer for being ignorant of tendencies and movements since 1914, as the

policy of the victors has robbed German scholars of the instruments of their craft, for they cannot now afford to buy foreign books. But the typical persons he mentions all belong to a former generation. With a few exceptions his reading of English literature seems to have been confined to Victorian authors. With all his diligence and sympathy he on this account fails to give a representation of religious and Church life in this country as this generation knows it, unless in so far as the older types survive. To give the most glaring instance, to accept George Eliot's or Robertson's representations of the *evangelical type* as adequate is to show ignorance of what in its best representatives it largely was, and now mainly is. That there are survivors of the type as here depicted none can deny; and that there has been a theological reaction in some evangelical circles must be admitted; but Chapter v. of this book is, on the whole, a caricature and not a portrait.

(iv.) Although the author declares that Germans were only too ready to learn from and imitate other nations, and he himself found it necessary to publish a warning against *Engländerei*—imitation of England—his volume betrays a greater knowledge of English general literature, as represented by several favourite authors, than of English theological and philosophical writings. Had he followed the movements during the last half-century in biblical scholarship, theological reconstruction, and philosophical inquiry, in Scotland no less than in England, he could not have written as he has written about 'the superficiality of the interest in the truth of religion.' The reputation of this country for common sense and practical efficiency, of which some among us loudly boast, leads other peoples to undervalue the contribution that the country is making to human knowledge and thought. During the Calvin celebrations in Geneva I met a number of distinguished German theologians, and was surprised to find how few could speak English, and how little they seemed to know of English philosophical and

theological literature. An effort was made by some German evangelical leaders to call attention to helpful English theological literature, a recognition of a need. Before the war we were much more hospitable to German scholarship than the Germans were to English. That this hospitality may be renewed is one reason for this article. From this volume no German would discover how far-reaching have been the changes in religious thought in this country on such subjects as election, the inspiration of the Bible, future destiny, the person and work of Christ. Most of what is written in this book about evangelical doctrine has no relevance at all to present actuality.

II. These are the general defects of the treatment which must be recognized before we can deal with the contents in detail. After a brief summary of English Church history, including a reference to Scotland, the author describes what he calls average piety in the Established and in the Free Churches. (i.) In the Church of England he recognizes the dominating influence of the Book of Common Prayer, which gives to this piety a common character more than is found in Germany. The reading of the lessons has given to the Bible in the life, speech, and literature a place that it does not hold elsewhere. He admits that in England the working classes are more friendly to the Church than in Germany, and ascribes this largely to the influence of the Bible. He insists, however, on the superficiality of the religious culture, which lends itself so easily to self-satisfaction. This, too, is even more deeply rooted in the Pharisaism, which results from giving an equal authority to the Old and the New Testaments. Of this average piety in the Church of England there has been a corrective since the days of Cromwell in Nonconformist piety.

(ii.) Toleration has saved these churches from sectarianism. Their advantage lies in their giving to their members a greater sense of their own personal value, and more scope for their own personal activity; they are more churches of

the common people, understanding them better. Even where emphasis is laid on personal experience, the author holds that the participation in Christian thought and life may be very superficial. Cant is the special danger of this type, and Dickens' representation of Pecksniff may be taken as typical. Here the author's reliance on English literature, so often hostile to Nonconformity, has misled him. National feeling has also influenced his judgement, as his words show. 'There is no question that the average type of the dissenting churches is the real bearer of the English self-deception. For it is really accustomed to, and makes demands for the highest Christian standards and judgements. It really lives in the Bible, the language of which it becomes accustomed to in home and public devotions, in Sunday schools and juvenile societies (Bands of Hope). It believes itself to be bound to its norms, and justifies its daily as its political action at this forum.' As, however, most who make this profession do not live up to it, they often hide from themselves even their lower motives, and deceive themselves that they are all that they profess to be. 'One can say,' he continues, 'that this is the enormous danger of an all too direct taking-over of biblical judgements into our life to-day. The biblical people becomes so easily the most insincere, because it most practises the art of clothing irresistible "herd" instincts in holy garments. One can recall what we have felt so much, the Janus aspect of the world-mission carried on by these circles; under the mask of the purely religious obligation to the World-Saviour there is concealed the unmeasured impulse to dominion of the self-conscious race' (p. 84). He concedes that the average Englishman is not conscious of this hypocrisy. While we may admit that there is a good deal of inconsistency among professing Christians, and that it is often accompanied by self-deception, yet the charge as a whole may be repudiated. The author would seem to prefer that a lower standard should be set for the common people, one more within their reach. But

did not Paul describe his converts from heathenism as 'called to be saints'? The misrepresentation of foreign missions is simply monstrous. The most watchful and keenest critics of imperialism have been found among the supporters of missions. The author also views with suspicion the infectious enthusiasm which he finds in these circles, and contrasts it unfavourably with 'the health and strength, the openness to the world, and large-heartedness of Lutheran piety' (p. 86). But he has to admit the wider influence of this type of piety in the common people. The impression his description gives as a whole is that he really does not know the Nonconformist Churches as they now are, and has relied on some literary representations which, even when favourable, do not present all the facts.

(iii.) In the *High Church* type he discovers a hindrance to the scientific sense of truth and reality, but the full development of the aesthetic sense. 'In the Catholic Church of England and its ritualism and sacramentalism there is completed, regardless of all speculative apprehension, yea, even all thinking conviction, the matter-of-fact nature of the extremely practically-realistically thinking Englishman' (p. 42). He judges this tendency as altogether unprotestant, but expresses a very warm sympathy with its social mission. The injustice of his treatment of the *Evangelical* type has already been referred to, and need not be discussed any further. To the *Broad Church* he is much more appreciative. What he finds fault with in this type is its lack of philosophical thoroughness in finding justification for its religious practicalness. 'To this English type of piety also,' he says, 'there cling the egg-shells of the genuinely English holding back in fear from the last consequences of the search of truth' (p. 61). He concedes, however, that even Germany has not solved the problem.

(iv.) He distinguishes British Methodism from Continental and American to its advantage. He maintains against Loofs that 'sudden conversion' belongs to the Methodist

type, not as a dogma, but as a statement of experience. Wesley's doctrine of perfection he finds lacking in sobriety. The meetings of the society he blames as expressing the inner life immodestly, and prefers what he calls the chastity of the German type. With all its defects he recognizes that 'the forces of will of England are unthinkable without the revival of the people by the appeals to the will of Methodism' (p. 70). The Puritan type appeals to him strongly, but he thinks that it is now more likely to be found in Scotland than in England. He holds that it survives in the British Empire and modern capitalism, and wherever the Bible is recognized as law and witness for life. Its peril is hypocrisy. 'The self-consciousness of the elect nation and the dominion appointed to it by God proves itself a denial of the Spirit of Christ, who has made us free from the narrowness of the old covenant and from confidence in the earthly victory of righteousness' (p. 78). Who can say, in view of some utterances of patriotic piety regarding the British Empire, and during the war, that we do not give some occasion for so unfavourable a judgement? As we are here mainly concerned with a foreigner's judgement of our nation, and not with his views of different types of religion, we may pass over what he has to say about Baptists, Quakers, Second Adventists, the Salvation Army. But one general judgement deserves quotation. 'It would often appear to us that in the Anglo-Saxon race there lies a far less diffident demonstration of the life of sensibility than in the German, accordingly also a far more naive religious tendency to bear witness and be converted. Preaching in the street, praying in the street among the degraded and mockers, manifestly do not cost any too great self-denial. Certainly there works the matter-of-fact nature, the pressure for real effects. But we do well indeed, as *Engländer*, to keep far from our more chaste German way the taking-over of this kind of work on the mass and the lowest dregs' (p. 104). When we remember Jesus'

ministry among the people, and the reproach against Him that He sought bad company, we may well ask whether the German way is the most Christian, whether witness to, and work for, Christ anywhere and everywhere is not following in His footsteps. The hostility of the working classes in the great cities of Germany to the Church might forbid such self-satisfaction with the ways of his fellow countrymen, as this author shows. A most appreciative account of Ruskin as illustrating the aesthetic religious type leads to the conclusion that his outlook was far from 'the hard, utilitarian, matter-of-fact English way' (p. 112). This adverse judgement is somewhat qualified by the admission that Ruskin's endeavour to share the joy of life with all the people was in the best sense English. 'This is,' he says, 'in fact what is most beautiful in this not unwidely spread type of English piety' (p. 118).

(v.) What is the common English element in these different types of piety he summarizes in four features. (1) There is a closer attachment to the Bible in English than in German piety, but this results in legalism and formalism, Pharisaism and cant, and the reason he offers is this. 'Really no average culture can raise itself to the high level of the New Testament; if it allows itself to be determined thereby, it must either profane it, or hang about itself a cloak, screw itself up to a height which it cannot really reach. Only the *élite* will be advanced and elevated by the standard of the book-religion' (p. 116). From another of the author's writings, *Praktische Sittenlehre*, I have learned his view that for the common people it is better to require a lower and more attainable standard.

(2) There follows from this *biblicism* a *tendency to moralizing*, for 'the Englishman demands philosophy and even religion, not as a world-view, but as a practical view of life, which will give him standards, norms for judgement of self and the world' (p. 116). This seems to give to English piety an advantage over German, but what the

German misses in the Englishman is thoroughness and consistency in theoretical thought. The unfavourable comparison he makes between the English Reformers and Luther and Calvin does not apply to the Reformed theology of Scotland, in which Knox made Calvinism dominant. There religious thought has been greatly daring about the decrees of God.

(3) Utilitarianism, in the sense of exploiting religion—God, communion with Him—for selfish ends, the author does not regard as characteristic, since, practical as English piety is, in its higher forms it regards both the glory of God and the good of man. While this activity of the social will is an advantage, it brings a temptation to superficiality as regards interest in religious truth. In regard to his own countrymen he says, 'Our duty to understand which goes to the roots, and is inexorable, assuredly robs us of much warmth, also light, and enfeebles our practical, also our social activity; our eternal investigations about right and duty and the bounds of the interference of religion in economic life have kept us for a long time far from active interference in social life. But this demand of clear principles, the distinction between the economic and political order, has also maintained us more inward, pure, and free over against the vagaries of a tumultuous improvement of the world. . . . Therefore we must not allow ourselves to be blamed for the unpractical, useless kind of our piety; it keeps the sources pure and furthers a life above the world' (p. 120). This self-revelation explains why social democracy in Germany is anti-religious, and why German imperialism and militarism were allowed to develop without rebuke or restraint from the German Churches.

(4) An important fundamental feature of English piety, as of English society generally, is the *developed sense for forms*; but the great gain of this cannot compensate for the danger of the externalizing of the inner life. His conclusion of the whole matter is this: 'If we oppose this

Engländerci, the simple imitations of English forms of piety in German life as an externalizing and endangering of our purer, truer content of life, we would not let that be our last closing word, but close with a most earnestly intended demand to approach with esteem and reverence this richly developed and many-sided manifestation of religion, rich in life and form, in a highly cultured nation, in order that we may grow in the understanding of its vital principles rich in their applications' (p. 122).

What comment seemed necessary on the author's conclusions has already been made, and all that remains is to draw some practical lessons. *First*, instead of getting angry at unfavourable judgements let us ask ourselves if there is any truth in them, or any reason for them. *Secondly*, even where we feel we can justify our ways against his strictures, let us learn from them whether a reality of good may not have for observers an appearance of evil, and seek to commend to others what we approve ourselves. *Thirdly*, let us not imitate the author in his unwillingness to learn from us, because of his satisfaction with the German type of piety. As we believe that Germany has something to learn from England, so let us admit that England may learn something from Germany. *Fourthly*, while recognizing that there must be national types even of religion and Christianity, let us set before us as an ideal and an inspiration a renewed manhood in Christ, which knows neither Jew nor Gentile, Greek nor barbarian, English nor German. *Lastly*, let us endeavour so to influence public opinion and popular sentiment that in our policy as a nation among the other nations we do not give ground for our good being evil spoken of, as undoubtedly in our treatment of Germany since the war we have done. If the author has failed to write we should receive what he has written, in the spirit of grace, forgiveness, and reconciliation.

ALFRED E. GARVIE.

ERASMUS: A STUDY IN CHARACTER.

NEVER, probably, was there in our history a set of conditions more favourable to Erasmus than that which he found on his arrival in England. His fame as a scholar secured a welcome from men as learned as himself, and equally anxious to further him in his work. Here was Archbishop Warham waiting to receive him, to entertain him at his palace and provide handsomely for his wants. 'With the approval of the Primate of a Church which, from the time of Wyclif, had held the translation and reading of the Bible in the common tongue to be heresy and punishable by fire, Erasmus boldly avowed his wish for a Bible open and intelligible to all' (Green). 'The Primate loved him,' he wrote, 'as if he were his father or his brother, and his generosity surpassed that of all his friends.'

Here Erasmus met Colet, the Dean of St. Paul's, a man who equalled him in scholarship. 'When I listen to my friend Colet,' he says, 'it seems like listening to Plato himself.' He was the great preacher of his day, the predecessor of Latimer in his simplicity, his directness, and his force. He founded St. Paul's school. Over the master's chair was set the image of the child Jesus, and on it the words, '*Hear ye Him.*' He appeals tenderly to his scholars, 'Lift up your little white hands for me which prayeth for you to God.' There is no friend of his to whom the heart of Erasmus goes forth with such fullness as to Sir Thomas More, of whom he writes, 'When did Nature ever mould a temper more gentle, endearing, and happy than his?' He is received by Henry VII, and sees the young Prince Henry, a boy of nine, 'but already with a certain regal bearing, that is a loftiness of mind with a singular courtesy of demeanour.'

There is no need to dwell at any length on the other conditions that made the age so favourable for the fulfilment

of his great purpose. The new heaven and the new earth which Copernicus and Columbus had opened to men Erasmus would complete by bringing a new revelation of the living Saviour by means of his New Testament ; while the invention of the printing press enabled him to send forth edition after edition into the world. Never, probably, through all that restless life was Erasmus so contented. He had the recognition of the great and learned which was so much to his liking. He was cared for as never before, and no man ever cared more for being cared for. The influence of men so learned and devout inspired him with confidence and religious ardour. Green goes so far as to say that his New Testament was almost wholly due to the encouragement and assistance he received from English scholars. He who was not often enthusiastic glows with enthusiasm. He would set Christ Himself in the place of the Church, would recall men from the teachings of Christian theologians to the teachings of the Founder of Christianity. He rises to sublime heights as he writes, ' Were we to have seen Christ with our own eyes we should not have so intimate a knowledge as the Gospels give us of Him, speaking, healing, dying, rising again, as it were in our very presence. If the footprints of Christ are shown us in any place, we kneel down and adore them. Why do we not rather venerate the living and breathing picture of Him in these books ? We deck statues of wood and stone with gold and gems for the love of Christ. Yet they represent to us only the outer form of His body, while the Gospels present us with a living picture of His holy mind. . . . I long for the day when the husbandman shall sing portions of them to himself as he follows the plough ; when the weaver shall hum to the tune of his shuttle ; when the traveller shall while away with their stories the weariness of his journey.'

It is not too much to claim that the New Testament of Erasmus became the strength, and more than the strength—the soul of the Reformation. Everybody began to read it.

'It was the topic of the day,' says Green. The Court, the Universities, every household to which the new learning had penetrated, read and discussed it. Archbishop Warham lends copies of it to bishop after bishop. What that book did for many is illustrated by the story of Bilney—Little Bilney, as he is affectionately called. It reads like the story of an old-fashioned Methodist conversion. He had vainly sought peace, as he says, for his poor sick soul in penance and pilgrimage and every way that Rome could devise, until his heart was wellnigh broken. 'Then,' he goes on, 'I heard speak of Jesus, when first the New Testament was set forth by Erasmus, being drawn thereto rather by the Latin than by the Word of God, for at that time I knew not what the word of God meant. And on the first reading of it, as I well remember, I chanced upon these words—oh, most sweet and comfortable saying to my soul—"It is a saying worthy of all men to be embraced that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am the chief." That one saying by God's inward working did so lift up my poor bruised spirit that the very bones within me leapt for joy and gladness.'

Bilney goes forth, the fire burning within him, to tell of his great discovery to many others—how many we know not except in the case of prominent men like Stafford, the teacher of divinity, and Hugh Latimer. Here and there we trace it. In the story of the martyrdom of Dr. Taylor of Hadleigh, the most beautiful and touching story in Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, it seems as if the parson and the whole parish had been brought to Christ by the preaching of Bilney.

The enemies of the Reformation were quick to perceive the peril that beset them when men began to read the Scriptures for themselves. One incident that comes down to us shows the controversy which it provoked. Prior Buckenham, of the Dominican Friars, preached in Cambridge a sermon of which we know this much on the matter.

That the people should have the Bible to read for themselves was a thing so perilous that it would destroy everything that was needful. Think what must happen when the ploughman, and the cook, and the simple man began to read the Scriptures ! The ploughman would read that if he put his hand to the plough he must not look back ! ' Then forsooth,' saith he, ' I will not plough any more.' The cook would read that a little leaven poisoneth the dough ! And we shall all be poisoned with unleavened bread. The simple man shall find him commanded to pluck out his right eye and cast it from him ! And we shall have the land swarming with one-eyed beggars. The reply to the friar came the next Sunday in a sermon by Hugh Latimer. We may set before us the great congregation gathered by the controversy, and in some prominent position the friar with the cowl about his face. With as much wit as wisdom Latimer began in his homely fashion to deal with the friar's arguments. ' The common people of this realm,' said Latimer, ' do understand these figures much better than the friar doth imagine.' Then the eyes must have glowed with humour as he looked the friar full in the face and went merrily on. ' For instance now, for instance, if a man were to paint a picture of a fox preaching out of a friar's cowl, no one would be as foolish as to take it for a *real* fox. They would say one to another, " It is a picture of a fox preaching out of a friar's cowl, and what meaneth it ? " Ah, they would know full soon what it meaneth. It is a figure that meaneth we must all beware of the craft, the hypocrisy, the foxy-like nature that commonly lieth hid in a friar's cowl.' There was great laughter, says the record. Indeed, so fierce were these controversies, and attended with such demonstrations, that it was considered safest to suppress them.

Erasmus, however, is not content with this great achievement. It illustrates the vast genius of the man to find him turning from such a work as the New Testament to a book brimming with richest humour, his *Praise of Folly*, in which

he smites with skilful banter at the superstitions of the time. Much of it was written in the house of Sir Thomas More. We can picture the grim Erasmus and the merry host sitting together in the house at Chelsea with unmeasured enjoyment over its pages. The very title of the book is a playful pun on the name of his host, *Μωρίας ἐγκωμιον*, Erasmus declaring that 'More himself was as far from the things as his name was near it.'

The circulation of the book was such that up to that time no book can have equalled it. We are told that there were more than forty editions in the author's lifetime, and more than a hundred years later Milton writes, 'Everybody in Cambridge is reading it.' Let us think what it meant at such a time to have words like these circulated in a book that every one who could read was reading. The churches were filled with effigies of the saints. The toe on the foot of St. Peter in Rome was worn by the adoring kisses of those who sought his favour. So Erasmus writes : 'The apostles worshipped but in spirit, following simply the apostolic rule : "God is a Spirit, and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth." But it does not appear that it was revealed to them that an image drawn on a wall with crayon was to be worshipped if only it have two fingers held upright, hair flowing, and three rays in a halo about its head.'

We listen again as he deals with the matter of purgatory. 'What shall we say of those who flatter themselves so sweetly in the counterfeit pardons for their crimes, who have measured off the duration of purgatory without an error, as if by a clock, into ages, years, months, and days, like a multiplication table. Suppose some tradesman, or soldier, or judge who by paying out a penny for all his stealings, thinks the whole slough of his life is cleansed out at once—all his perjuries, lusts, drunkennesses, all his quarrels, murders, cheats, treacheries, falsehoods, bought off by a bargain, and bought off in such a way that he may now

begin over again with a new circle of crimes !' How daringly he deals in his ridicule with the worship of the saints ! We note especially the last sentence. 'The several countries claim for themselves each its special saint, with its special function and its special form of worship—as, for example, this one is good for toothache, this one helps women in travail, another restores stolen property ; this one saves from shipwreck, and that one takes care of the flocks, and so on, for it would take long to go through the whole list. There are some that are good for one thing and some for another, and of those especially the Virgin Mother of God, to whom the mass of men pay more honour than to the Son.'

He deals fiercely with what he calls the grammarians, whom he names 'the choicest sons of folly.' They spend their days in trying to find who was the mother of Anchises, and over the quibblings of the philosophers who dispute about such matters as, 'What would Peter have consecrated if he had celebrated the Eucharist while Christ was still hanging on the cross ?'

At great length he denounces the folly of the monks, and in the same kind of ridicule. 'What a joke it is that they do all things by a kind of sacred mathematics, as, for instance, how many knots their shoes must be tied with, of what colour everything, how many straws' breadth to their girdle ; of what form and how many bushels' capacity their cowl, how many fingers broad their hair. . . . One will pour out a hundred bushels of psalms ; another will count up myriads of fasts, and make up for them by almost bursting himself at a single dinner. Another will boast that for sixty years he has never touched a penny except with double gloves on his hands ; another wears a cowl so greasy and filthy that no sailor would think it decent. . . . Christ will interrupt their endless bragging, and will demand, "Whence this new kind of Judaism ? One law and that My own I recognize, and that is the only thing I hear nothing about.

I promised the inheritance of My Father, not to cowls and prayers and fastings, but to deeds of love.” ’

We must be content with one further extract. Folly carries her argument finally to the Pope, in what Professor Emerton in his life of Erasmus calls ‘this monumental passage’: ‘Those supreme Pontiffs, who stand in place of Christ, if they should try to imitate His life, that is His poverty, His toil, His teaching, His cross, and His scorn of this world; or if they should think of the meaning of “Pope,” that is “father,” or even of “most holy,” what position in the world could be more dreadful! Who would buy it with all his resources, or when he had bought it would defend it by sword and poison and every violence? What joys they would lose if once wisdom should get hold of them! Wisdom, say I? Nay, even a grain of that salt Christ tells of. What wealth, honours, riches, conquests, dispensations, taxes, indulgences, horses, mules, guards, pleasures, they would lose! And in their place they would have vigils, prayers, sermons, study, and a thousand other painful toils. And I ought not to forget that such a mass of advocates, promoters, secretaries, mule-drivers, money-changers, procurers, and gayer persons yet I might mention did I not respect your ears—that this whole swarm which now burdens—I beg pardon—honours the Roman See would be driven to starvation. As it is now, if there is any work to be done it is left to Peter and Paul, who have plenty of leisure for it; but if there is anything of show or pleasure they keep that for themselves. Thus it happens that through the assistance of folly there is scarce any class of men who live more jovially and less burdened with care. They think they are fulfilling the rule of Christ if they play the part of bishops with mystical and almost theatrical decorations, ceremonies, titles of benediction, of sanctity, with blessings and cursings. Doing miracles is quite antiquated; to teach the people is hard work; to interpret the Scriptures is a matter for the schools; praying is tedious; to be poor is base, dishonour-

able, and unworthy of him who will scarce allow the greatest of kings to kiss his blessed feet.'

Erasmus, in language equally strong, and with the same humour, pours contempt on the worship of relics. He goes with Colet, the Dean of St. Paul's, to the shrine of St. Thomas at Canterbury. 'They expose to be kissed the shoe of St. Thomas, which is perchance the shoe of some harlequin. What could be more foolish than to worship the shoe of a man! I have myself seen them showing the linen rags on which he is said to have wiped his nose. When the shrine was opened, the Abbot and the rest of them fell on their knees in worship, raised their hands to heaven, and showed their reverence by their actions. All this seemed to John Colet, who was with me, an unworthy display. I thought it was a thing we must put up with until an opportunity should come to reform it without disturbance.' *To reform without disturbance.* 'This,' says Professor Emerton, 'is the keynote of the Erasmian reform.'

We must linger a moment longer over the visit to Canterbury for an incident that Erasmus tells with great glee. The Abbot is showing to Erasmus and Colet the mass of gems, the golden candlesticks, the costly vestments which did honour to the saint. Then quoth Colet, 'This St. Thomas was a good man, was he not, who cared much for the poor of the people?' 'Verily he was,' said the Abbot, and was prepared to give instances of his benevolence. 'And his character,' said Colet, 'can in no wise have deteriorated in the celestial sphere where he dwelleth?' The Abbot reverently agreed. 'Then, Sir Abbot,' said Colet, 'seeing when he was but a poor man himself, and having bodily needs, he gave so much, would it not be a joy to him now that he has no need of money, if some poor starving woman with hungry children were to take for her own one of these costly gems for food and warmth?' 'Then did the Abbot knit his brows and pout his lips, and glare at us, and would have driven us forth if we had not received an introduction from the Archbishop.'

So have we seen Erasmus in his writings. Now we turn to ask, What is it that checks and hinders one from whom we expect so much? It lies in that 'keynote'—a reformation without disturbance. There is a wine that is spoiled by being shaken. Such to Erasmus was the wine of the Kingdom. He is eager for that new wine, slashing at the old bottles. But he is afraid of the new bottles—seems, indeed, to dream of the wine without any bottles. 'The genius of Erasmus,' says Emerson, 'was eminently critical, not constructive. His misfortune was that he lived at a crisis when the merely critical would not serve.' The amazing thing, after all, is not that he did not do more, but that with his limitations he did so much. 'He loved religion for its literature, not literature for its religion,' says the writer in the Cambridge History. And yet, more than that, he doubted if it could be religion at all without literature. A man naturally timid, yet when he writes what audacity is there! 'The clergy, from the friar and the parish priest to the Pope, the superstitions and ceremonies, the pilgrimages and fastings, the worship of relics and of the saints, are pilloried, satirized, and killed, so far as ridicule can kill.' Loving the approval of the prominent, either Pontiff or prince; yet with that keen stylo of his stabbing at all that made the greatness of either. Intensely sensitive to criticism, 'so thin-skinned,' says a contemporary, 'that if a fly do but light on him it draws blood,' yet inviting, almost compelling criticism from those whom he so unsparingly attacked! His bodily ailments compelled him to consider carefully the meat he ate and the wine he drank. Fish, so indispensable in those many fast-days, always disagreed with him. 'I am no ichthyophagist,' he says. 'My soul is Catholic, but my belly is Lutheran.' Yet with the pen in his hand he is neither Catholic nor Lutheran, but smites at each in turn. Luther in his *Table Talk* tells how Spalatin asked: 'What kind of a man is this Erasmus? One cannot tell where one stands with him.' And Duke George said, after his fashion,

'Plague take the man ! One never knows what he is at. I like better the way of the Wittenbergers ; they say yes and no.'

It is a strange study in character. He writes as a very giant, then shrinks from utterances beyond the power of his personality to realize in action. Erasmus himself is so conscious of it that he himself seeks to explain it. He declares that when he writes a certain spirit (demon) possesses him, and carries him with resistless force. His pen seemed to have a volition of its own. The pen loosed, he sits back thinking of his comfort and desiring to be let alone—to quote the writer to whom we have referred, 'A man whose complaints are too frequent to be dignified, and his appeals for help too urgent to be compatible with self-respect.' The words err on the side of gentleness. We are led to ask, What is this demon, this something other than the man himself which possesses him and urges him beyond his will ? It seems almost to suggest that in some men there are two men—perhaps in many ; perhaps in most.

But we must not close this study of Erasmus without acknowledging the immense debt of gratitude we owe him for his splendid service to the Reformation, and nowhere more than in England. We must repeat what we have said—his translation of the New Testament was the strength and very soul of the English Reformation. He, by his brilliant humour and keen satire, did more than any other man to shape and intensify the popular feeling towards the superstitions to which they had been accustomed. No words can more fittingly close this study than those of Professor Emerton. 'If Erasmus could have lived up to himself he would have been one of the greatest of men. Let us in our judgement beware lest we make superhuman demands of him. It is as idle as it is unjust to ask that Erasmus shall be both Erasmus and Luther at once. We must not obscure the immense service he rendered to the cause with which his nature forbade him to identify himself.'

BASIL ST. CLEATHER.

Notes and Discussions

DR. JULIUS RICHTER AND DR. PAUL FEINE AMONG GERMAN METHODISTS.

FOR the second year in succession a conference of ministers and clergy was held last April in the commodious and well-equipped institution for the training of German Methodist preachers in Frankfurt-on-the-Main. Last year's conference was made memorable by the lectures of Dr. Deissmann. This year, two University professors of high standing were present and greatly impressed all who listened to them by their catholicity of spirit, as well as by their evangelical and scholarly addresses. For the following epitome of the principal lectures we are indebted to an excellent report by Professor Spörri.

Dr. Julius Richter, of the University of Berlin, is well known as the editor of the *Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift*. His main theme was St. Paul. In his lecture on 'The Personality of Paul,' the apostle was described as a great disciple, a great theologian, and a great missionary. In him Jesus was reflected as in none other; his relationship to Jesus is comparable with that of the moon to the sun. Stress was laid on the blending of opposites in the Apostle's character. In spite of the limitations due to a frail constitution, how wide in their range were his activities, and how immense the total sum of his life work! Highly sensitive in nature, he had an ardent longing for fellowship, and yet how sorely he felt his loneliness, traceable as it too often was to his being disappointed in the friends whom he would fain have trusted! Paul is unique inasmuch as he combined in himself four distinct gifts which, in the history of the Church, have usually been bestowed upon four different individuals. He was at once an ecclesiastic, a theologian, an organizer, and a mystic. As a veritable prince of the Church he discharged episcopal duties by pastoral oversight of the various churches, by promoting intercourse between them, and by authoritative guidance of their affairs. As a theologian, he clearly expounds and vigorously defends, in the Epistles to the Galatians and to the Romans, the fundamental truths of Christianity. As an organizer his geniality enabled him so deeply to impress the Churches, whose foundations he helped to lay, that it is possible to speak of a Pauline type. Finally, as a mystic, he allows his extraordinary experiences in visions to recede into the background, and he becomes the representative of a genuine, sane mysticism based on fellowship with Christ in His sufferings and death.

Passing to 'The Message of the Apostle Paul,' Dr. Richter refers to the religious-historical school who regard the Pauline doctrine as an amalgam composed of elements derived from manifold sources.

But the variations in the Apostle's presentation of the Gospel are explained partly by the difference which every missionary must make, according as he is proclaiming the good news for the first time, or is giving instructions for the defence of the faith, or is striving to promote the perfecting of the saints. The variations are also explained partly by the necessity of preaching the same gospel in one way to Jews in Palestine, and in another way to Gentiles who were unfamiliar with the Old Testament revelation.

As to 'The Missionary Methods of Paul,' they could not but differ widely from those of to-day, which make use of elaborate technical auxiliaries. But the task of the Apostle closely resembled that of the modern missionary. The Hellenistic world of his time was characterized by pride of knowledge, but it was inwardly at strife; notwithstanding all its restless philosophical and religious propaganda, it was a dissolute world hastening to dissolution. The little flock gathered by the Apostle into the Christian fold belonged to different nations, they were of different degrees of culture, and they had different interests. But the impelling power which sustained him in all his labours was his consciousness of a call to be an Apostle to mankind. His soul was filled with the splendour of the vision of the Church as the Body of Christ, in which the divine fullness of Christ dwelt in order that the whole cosmos might share the riches of His grace. The grandeur of this conception explains the universality of the outlook which dominated Paul's missionary work.

A topic near akin to the theme of Dr. Richter's lectures was assigned to Dr. Paul Feine of the University of Halle. Readers of his admirable work on *New Testament Theology*, now in its second edition, will recognize his eminent fitness to deal wisely with the controversial subject *Jesus and Paul*. The mere title is instructive, for it is not 'Jesus or Paul.' The question raised by those who cry 'back from Paul to Jesus' is that of the dependence of Paul on Jesus. Dr. Feine confessed that he was unable to take the critical attitude of a personally disinterested historian; his method of approach was determined by his experience as a believer, and by the history and traditions of the Christian Church. After a survey of the history of the problem, the lecturer thus summarized the results of his comparison of Jesus with Paul; Paul is, in everything, dependent on Jesus, the relationship between them is, to use his own words, that of slave and Master. Paul knows of no salvation apart from Christ, but in Christ he possesses all things that God has bestowed on men. The contrast between Jesus and Paul is manifest. At his conversion Paul made a breach with his past life, but Jesus had always done the will of His Father. The life of Jesus is remarkable for its restfulness and joyousness, Paul's for its continuous struggle against sin. Jesus lived in complete and unbroken communion with God; Paul lacked this, and because he longed for it he sought it from Jesus, to whom he gave himself so entirely that he no longer lived, but Christ lived in him.

Dr. Feine proceeded to compare the prayers of Jesus with the

prayers of Paul, and the preaching of Jesus with the preaching of Paul, a disciple of the Rabbis. The style and the method of Jesus had little influence upon Paul. What interested him chiefly was the death and resurrection of Jesus. Many passages were cited to prove that Paul had an exact knowledge of the main traits in the character of Jesus as revealed in His earthly life, and that he was greatly influenced by that knowledge in his own conduct and preaching. This is evident from Paul's teaching about God, from his attitude towards suffering and the good things of this world, from his ethical instructions in which continually the example of Jesus is regarded as the realization of the moral ideal expressed in doing the will of God. In closing, Dr. Feine said that he could not banish from his mind the conviction that Paul knew Jesus personally. But, however that may be, Paul was what he was through Jesus Christ, and Paul can never be understood except through that which Jesus was and is.

With special delight the announcement was greeted that Dr. Richter would lecture on *Three Methodist Missionary Leaders*. Professor Spörri acknowledges with shame that many Methodists have little or no idea of the world-wide significance of the work of their Church, and little or no knowledge of the great personalities that have shaped its policy and extended its influence. The three names selected were Bishop William Taylor, Bishop James Thoburn, and President John Goucher. Of these three worthies of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America British Methodists might, with advantage, increase their knowledge. Bishop Taylor is described as an evangelist whose eloquence stirred the hearts of his hearers. Reference is made to his work in California, New York, South Africa, India, and Australia; but especial praise is given to his establishment of schools in South America, and to his zealous labours in Equatorial Africa immediately after that country had been discovered by Stanley. Bishop Thoburn worked for half a century in the tropics and was longing to go once more to China when, at the age of 78, he ceased to work and live. His joy in discovering open doors for the Gospel receives honourable mention. President John Goucher's career is sketched with high appreciation of his gift of initiative. As a young minister he keenly felt the responsibility of the Church for four and a half million of emancipated slaves. By his influence great difficulties were overcome, and schools and colonies for American negroes were established. As president of the Women's University in Baltimore, Dr. Goucher is best known, but Dr. Richter refers also to his founding of schools for low caste Indian boys and girls. This large hearted Lutheran Professor closed his lecture with the words: 'Blessed is the Church that has such men.'

Mention only can be made of the lectures delivered by Professor Hans Schmidt of the University of Giessen on *The Problem of Suffering in the Old Testament*, and on *The Prophet Isaiah* with illustrative views. Bishop Nuelsen also addressed a public meeting on *Religion in Russia*.

At a time when one regrets to hear of the recrudescence of systematic opposition to Methodism by German ecclesiastics, the Frankfurt Conferences have an importance which it is impossible to over-estimate. That University Professors should lecture in a Methodist College to Free Church ministers is a sign of the times and a bright augury for the future. The gathering this year has lessons for Christians of every name. We are not so familiar as we ought to be with the great names in the history of other Churches.

J. G. TASKER.

THE MESSAGE OF MOHAMMED

STUDENTS of Islam should read *The Message of Mohammed*, by Ardaser S. N. Wadia, of Bombay (Messrs. J. M. Dent & Sons, 3s. 6d. net). The book is well printed and tastefully bound. Mr. Wadia calls upon Indian Muslims to 'recast old beliefs and transfigure them into breathing, palpitating realities that have an inward significance and immediate application to life as we see around us.' The opening chapter, 'The Struggle of Mohammed,' is an admirable introduction to the book. The author confesses that the 'visions of Mohammed are rather a difficult subject to tackle.' Just what he means by describing them as either 'hallucinations or pure delusions' perhaps only a theosophist could explain. The plea for idolatry is clever but unconvincing. 'Consider,' says our author, 'what would be our dusky brother of Central Africa without his Mumbo-Jumbo.' He would be a more cheerful individual. Indian theosophists have argued in favour of idols, claiming that they help the ignorant man to understand the Great Unseen. But experience proves that on low levels the worshipper stops at the outward form, and sinks back into a true heathenism. Mr. Wadia admits that idols may 'become mischievous and degrade and demoralize their simple-minded votaries.' In noting the stress placed by Mohammed on 'pure monotheism' the author imputes much learning and foresight to the Prophet, who, he affirms, 'knew . . . that sooner or later the secret canker of Magian-Mosaic duotheism or Paulo-Christian tritheism . . . would assuredly find an entrance and eat into the heart of his pure monotheism.' It is not always easy to convince the Indian Muslim that the Christian believes in one God only.

The author speaks of the Christian conception of God as 'the comfortable creed,' in comparison with 'Mohammed's more virile idea of God.' It is true that Jesus called God Father, and that is a 'comfortable creed' unknown to Islam. But, then, Jesus also called the Father a 'holy Father.' And we may claim that that is a 'comfortable creed,' for it must be for man's good that he should know that the Father not only wants all His children home, but wants them holy too. Dealing with the significance of the word Islam, Mr. Wadia very properly takes the Rt. Hon. Syed Ameer Ali to task for his 'light-hearted word-juggling,' when he affirms that 'The word

Islam does not imply . . . absolute submission to God's will, but . . . striving after righteousness.' On page 58, 'Swemer' should surely be 'Zwemer.' Mr. Wadia informs his readers that 'in the Koran repentance signifies a free and full confession of the offence and then a definite turning away from it to turn to Allah with a view to secure his pardon and help in the future amendment of life.' But he omits to give us chapter and verse. In the section on the prophets we are told that Jesus in the Koran is called 'the Word of Truth.' This should be the 'Word of God.' Mohammed, Mr. Wadia explains, 'never once laid claim to be anything more than a mere mortal, subject to all the ills of life and freaks of fortune like any one of his fellow creatures.' This is true and most important. The author endeavours to sublimate the accounts of heaven and hell given in the Koran, but is driven to admit that 'the earlier *suras* contain descriptions of heaven and hell which are truly deplorable and at times revolting.' He asserts that Islam 'is the most vital of all the living religions of the world, not excluding even Christianity.' This is an *ipse dixit* characteristic of the theosophical mind. Mr. Wadia goes on to affirm that Mohammed taught 'that the pious are meek and lowly of heart, patient and forbearing, ever conscious and penitent of their own failings, and unswervingly just and scrupulously fair in all their dealings with their fellow men.' Here again we reasonably look for chapter and verse. The author goes so far as to say that the Islamic ideal is purity. And he speaks of the 'heartfelt love' the Muslim has for Allah.

Mr. Wadia informs us that 'both in Judaism and Christianity fasting was primarily a mode of expiation to which the penitent heart resorted as an assured way of making amends for its delinquencies.' No authorities are quoted. He very properly joins issue with Mr. Ameer Ali and others who have contended that polygamy is 'contrary to the spirit of Islam.' He goes on to dismiss 'without examination the Christian critic's charges of sensuality and self-indulgence in connexion with' the marriages of the Prophet. Had he made even a brief inquiry, he would have read of Mohammed's marriage with Zeinab, the divorced wife of his adopted son—an alliance which shocked even Arab sentiment. Also he would have read of Mary the Copt, the slave-girl sent to the Prophet by the Roman Governor in Egypt. Mr. Wadia admits that 'the sexual freedom, conceded and legalized by the Koran, is indeed such as to make Islam, in all truth, "the Easy Way."'

The author asserts that 'Mohammed was the first to practise, as he was undoubtedly the first to grasp, the true intent and spirit of Christ's great teaching about the equality of man in the sight of God.' To prove this amazing statement, a quotation is given from the last great sermon of Mohammed: 'Know that every Moslem is the brother of every other Moslem.' Every Christian knows that he is the brother of every other man. We are dealing with doctrines, and the contrast is vivid. Mr. Wadia should explain his reference to the 'Pir' and his 'Idgah' (see page 187).

The question is asked, Can Islam lift the masses out of the mire of indolence and despondency in which they sink? The answer is Delphic: 'The Islamic regions of the Old World, with their 250,000,000 followers, furnish the best answer.' Mr. Wadia speaks of 'the sublime speculations of Omar Khayyám.' If they really are 'sublime,' where may they be found? An interesting opinion is this, that while 'the Khalifate is a great cause and a splendid rallying-point, no impartial exponent of Islam can wink at the fact that it is not, and never has been, a vital point in the religion of Mohammed.' Islam, we are told, 'promises permanent happiness to the Muslim without enacting or even expecting any radical change in his nature.' In vivid contrast is Christianity, 'which offers a unique revelation and a totally new valuation of man's spiritual life, and aims at radically changing his whole nature.' Mr. Wadia speaks of the 'frankly mundane ideals' of Islam, which has for its motto: '*Ad Rem*'; while the Christian religion cries, he says, '*Ad Astra*.' The Muslim achieves, the Christian aspires. And here we may leave the matter with a strong temptation to quote Browning.

C. PHILLIPS CAPE.

THE HIGHER CRITICISM AND THE PENTATEUCH

DURING the past few months there have been great rejoicings over a Daniel come to judgement against the higher critics in the person of Professor R. D. Wilson, of the Princeton Theological Seminary. Dr. Wilson's little book, *Is the Higher Criticism Scholarly?* has now been followed by a volume entitled *The Higher Criticism in Relation to the Pentateuch*, by M. Edouard Naville, the well-known Egyptologist, of the University of Geneva. This has been rendered into English by Professor John R. Mackay, of the Free Church College, Edinburgh, who has also written a translator's introduction and an appendix of notes. There is a short foreword by Sir William Ramsay. Messrs. T. and T. Clark are the publishers, and the price is 5s.

M. Naville's denunciation of the higher critics and all their works is more than usually trenchant. He is particularly severe on the late Dr. W. H. Bennett, whose work on Joshua in the *Sacred Books of the Old Testament* he describes as being in the 'Rainbow' Bible, a hit that even the critics will appreciate. But when he several times speaks of Dr. Bennett's commentary on Genesis as being in the Centenary (*sic!*) Bible, we can only rub our eyes. No doubt 'Centenary Bible' is good French, perhaps the only possible rendering of Century Bible, but Professor Mackay ought to have known better than to let it stand in an English retranslation, especially since the Century Bible is published in Edinburgh. Then, too, the references to the Century Bible are difficult to trace, for the very sufficient reason that they are inaccurate, or refer to things that are not in the places indicated (e.g. footnotes to pp. 44-45). And as if this were not enough, the translator, at any rate, appears to suppose that Dr. Bennett is still living (see note on p. 148).

M. Naville's thesis, stated briefly, is this. The Pentateuch is a unity, and the author of it was Moses. Our Hebrew Pentateuch is not, however, the original, but a translation of a translation of the original. Moses wrote in Babylonian, on cuneiform tablets. These tablets were brought together and distributed into five books, probably by Ezra, who translated them into Aramaic. The further translation from Aramaic into Hebrew had to wait for the appearance of the square Hebrew script, about 200 B.C. What applies to the Pentateuch applies also to all those parts of the Old Testament that are assigned by tradition to the period before Ezra; they were written in Babylonian, then translated into Aramaic, and finally into Hebrew. Whether the Aramaic Targums are again a translation from the Hebrew, or are the actual Aramaic from which our Hebrew Bible was translated, is not quite clear, but we incline to think that the latter is M. Naville's view (see pp. 105-106). But any one who has read the Targums will readily believe that the Hebrew Bible is vastly superior, as literature, to any Aramaic Bible that may ever have been. Imagine those peerless stories in Genesis, or the majestic periods of the prophets, so many translations at two removes! It is, to say the least, unlikely.

It has been urged against M. Naville's theory on the evidence of the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Siloam inscription, that Hebrew was a literary language long before 200 B.C. This M. Naville denies. But take the case of the Siloam inscription (*circa* 700 B.C.). He speaks of it rather disparagingly as a mere inscription of six lines upon an aqueduct, and suggests that it is the work of a Phoenician workman, one of a company of experts in hydraulics whom Hezekiah brought to Jerusalem to construct the aqueduct. That the inscription is Hebrew and not Phoenician has been maintained against M. Naville, on philological grounds, to wit, 'for the reason that a (letter) *waw* occurs in the text. In that *waw* consists one of the barriers which the philologists have erected between Hebrew and Phoenician, in their sense of those terms (p. 107).' Exactly what kind of a *waw* that is, is not stated. But it is probably the so-called *waw consecutive* with the imperfect, an idiom regularly employed in Hebrew and on the Moabite Stone, but not in any Phoenician inscription hitherto discovered. Or perhaps it is the *waw* of the third person singular pronominal suffix, which is regular in Hebrew and occurs in the Siloam inscription, but is never met with in Phoenician. And if this be not sufficient evidence that the inscription is genuinely Hebrew we may note that the ending of the feminine singular noun in Phoenician is *t*; in the Siloam inscription it is the consonant *hê*, as in Hebrew.

Grammarians are a humble and a much-abused folk. They do not invent language, as is commonly supposed, nor do they 'erect barriers.' They simply record what they find. And, judged by what we know of Hebrew and Phoenician, the Siloam inscription is Hebrew, and for all its brevity good Hebrew, not Phoenician. As against this new traditionalism, which would bring our Hebrew Bible down to

200 B.C., it may be confidently asserted that Hebrew was a literary language in the time of Isaiah; yes, earlier than that, for the language of the Moabite Stone (*circa* 850 B.C.), which reads like a good prose passage from the Book of Kings, is to all intents and purposes Hebrew.

In any case, why Hebrew should have had to wait for the appearance of the square Hebrew script before it could become a literary language it is difficult to see. Besides, we have always supposed that the square Hebrew letters originated in Aramaic circles, and that they were adopted by Jewish scribes after Hebrew, as a spoken language, had given place to Aramaic. Nor is there any evidence in M. Naville's book to make us alter that opinion. The script of the Aramaic *Papyri Blacassiani* and other remnants of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. may not be the fully developed square, but it is coming to be very like it. And any square forms that are wanting in Egyptian Aramaic can be supplied from the Nabatean and Palmyrene inscriptions, the writers of which were Gentiles all.

It is evident that the traditional theory of the Old Testament is not what it once was, and that on quite important matters there is even less agreement among the upholders of the traditional view than there is among the critics. Professor Wilson, for example, argues from the Canaanite glosses in the Tell-el-Amarna letters that Hebrew was already a literary language, written in cuneiform script, before the time of Moses. To be sure, it does not follow; for you cannot argue from a few score explanatory glosses to the existence of a literature. That Hebrew could be written in cuneiform is not to say that it was. Still, let us give Dr. Wilson the benefit of the doubt. It would then be interesting to hear him and M. Naville discuss the question of the original language of the Pentateuch.

CHRISTOPHER R. NORTH.

Recent Literature

THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS

The Church which is His Body: Studied in the Light of Biological Research. By Henry Howard. (Epworth Press.)

It is interesting that the Board of the Fernley Trust should have turned this year to Australian Methodism and appointed as lecturer so able and eloquent a representative of it as the Rev. H. Howard. Mr. Howard is now quite at home in British Methodism and is heartily welcomed as an Overseas representative and highly attractive preacher. But the Fernley Lecture for 1928, named above, will greatly enhance his reputation and enlarge the circle of his friends.

The subject chosen is full of suggestion, and the lecturer's exposition of it is fresh, vigorous, and practical. Some readers may be reminded of Henry Drummond's treatment of *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, but Mr. Howard's treatment of his theme differs in several important respects from that of his famous predecessor. He deals, not with individual, but with corporate Christian life; he does not dogmatize, but inquires; he seeks to establish, not 'identity' in the two worlds, but analogy between them. In all these respects the Fernley Lecturer is on safer and more fruitful ground than the Edinburgh professor. In the author's own words, 'This lecture is an attempt to provoke inquiry as to whether, and to what degree, the corporate life of the Christian Church bears the selfsame marks as distinguish life in other fields, thereby vindicating its right to be classified as a living organism, and to be construed as the veritable body of Christ.' It is true that in his 'Foreword' Mr. Howard indulges in venturesome speculation as to whether the physical, intellectual, moral, and spiritual forms of life are not in a real sense one, that even the inorganic may be potentially alive, and that 'matter is really spirit in suspended animation.' The distinctions between these realms, he says, are purely arbitrary, as the Seven Seas constitute one great and indivisible unity. But it does not follow that animal life is the same thing as vegetable life, because the boundary lines between the two great kingdoms cannot be drawn with exactness. When the lecturer settles down to his subject he wisely confines himself to asking what analogies there are between the physical life revealed in biological research and the corporate spiritual life manifested in the Church of Christ which is His Body.

The fundamental characteristic of 'living' is that it implies a continual adjustment between organism and environment. Sometimes the organism is more active, sometimes it may seem to be altogether passive, but action and reaction between it and the environment are constant, till death ensues. So, says the lecturer, is it in the relation between the human and the divine in the life spiritual.

'The Church witnesses to a living experience here and now of her living Lord,' and the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus works itself out on the stage of time, even to the end of the ages. The analogy of the life of the Church with life's processes elsewhere is worked out substantially in accordance with Professor Arthur Thomson's classification of functions—1. Organization; 2. Metabolism; 3. Development; 4. Differentiation of function; and 5. Reproduction. Life initiated the process, says Mr. Howard, of the Christian Church, and life alone can construe it. A true science of life carries the keys to all the problems—economic, social, industrial and religious—which press for solution to-day, and apparently baffle some of the best brains and hearts of our time.

Without following the lecturer in detail, it will be found, as might be expected, that the analogy is closer and more fruitful at some points than at others. But it may be said that (with possibly one or two exceptions) Mr. Howard institutes his comparisons quite fairly, not over-straining his argument for the sake of making a telling point. And while some of his analogies are obvious and well-worn, many are quite fresh and instructive; and even those that are familiar are presented with great vivacity and power, evincing the earnestness of the preacher as well as the clear scientific exposition of the lecturer. How fruitful a familiar idea may be made is illustrated under the heading of Organization, as the Church in its manifold forms and functions is shown to be 'the organized body which spiritual life has built up for itself.' Mr. Howard well says that 'the false and selfish communism that is sought to be set up in the State can only be corrected by the true and unselfish communism which springs out of a common life derived from Him who pleased not Himself.' The Church also has its own lessons to learn. Too many churches do not present a commonwealth of mutual interests, combined for mutual service, but 'resemble a sort of spiritual archipelago' of many little islands in a group, separated from one another by seas and channels of jealousy and isolation.

The technical headings of 'anabolism' and 'katabolism' should not repel a reader who readily understands what is meant by nutrition and function, food and exercise. The life of an organism depends upon the due proportion between expenditure of energy and the assimilation of appropriate food. Under this heading Mr. Howard deals effectively with the 'faith and works controversy,' and applies very instructively the importance of the leaf as well as of the root in the development of a tree planted by the streams of water, which is to bring forth fruit in its season. Under the heading of Development also, important practical lessons are drawn. 'The Church probably loses more members through leakage and breakage resulting from her want of sensitiveness to loss than from any other cause. . . . Her zeal to make new converts is often in strange contrast with her treatment of those she already has in hand.' Some Christian communities distinguished for active evangelism should lay these words to heart.

The most important part of the volume is probably that which deals with Differentiation of Function. The Church is to exhibit the working of unity in variety, and Mr. Howard follows St. Paul's treatment of the subject in Romans xii., as he traces out the developments of Christian life, 'working contagiously and reconstructively throughout the communities in which it lives.' In this connexion he has many excellent things to say on Prophecy, Administration, Teaching, Exhorting, Giving, Leadership, and Consolation. But the treatment throughout is not bald and abstract, as the mere enumeration of these headings might suggest, but living, concrete, and practical. Mr. Howard here shows that he has the heart and experience of a pastor, as well as the knowledge of a student who has made himself familiar with the teachings of physical science and the psychology of the Christian life. The closing sections of the lecture deal with the Missionary work of the Church, illustrating the reproductive functions of spiritual life, and especially the fruitfulness of sacrifice, following the lessons of the Cross, and the example of Him who died that men may enjoy life more abundantly.

Mr. Howard's quotations and illustrations are abundant. Not excessive, as it seems to us; for what is condemned by the critic in the study as exuberance is welcomed by the audience who are listening to a lecture and the general reader who is trying to master the argument of a book. The work as a whole is full of life and interest and graphic power. The writer has much that is valuable to say, and he says it so as to attract and interest readers of various types. He can move the multitude as well as instruct the few. On the foundation of this Lectureship many treatises of abiding value have been produced, and the latest in time will easily rank among the best in the series.

The Practical Basis of Christian Belief. By Percy Gardner, D.Litt. (Williams & Norgate. 12s. 6d. net.)

Professor Gardner gives as a sub-title to this book 'An Essay in Reconstruction,' and he explains for what reasons certain modifications in the basis and expression of Christian belief are in his opinion rendered necessary by recent tendencies of thought. He names (1) the doctrine of relativity, (2) the progress of religious psychology, (3) the comparative study of religions, (4) the altered views of early Christian history as the main operative factors, and accordingly he writes from what may be called the modernist, or the relativist, or the activist, point of view. Dr. Gardner's interests evidently lie in the department of religion, though in Oxford he is Professor of Classical Archaeology, and for five and twenty years at least he has been writing on theological and philosophical subjects. In this volume he gathers up and correlates the chief conclusions he has reached upon them. His long experience, balanced judgement, and clarity of thought and expression have made him a kind of leader among Modernist Churchmen, one to whom many look for guidance and help.

Like almost all moderns, Professor Gardner takes up the subject of religion, not from the point of view of metaphysics, nor from the side of history, but from the facts of psychological experience. The term 'activist,' which he uses as best describing his own standpoint, denotes one who regards religious ideas and doctrines from the consideration of man as an active personality. The doctrine of God, the Person of Christ, the work of the Holy Spirit, the hope of a future life—these and other leading doctrines of Christianity are here regarded, not as themes of divine revelation, certainly not as taught in Scripture or in the creeds and traditions of the Church, but as practically verified or verifiable in experience. The writer follows W. James by treating the phenomena of the religious life as 'phases of the activities of the soul in the presence of spiritual realities.' Or, to borrow the familiar titles of Dr. Glover's two well-known books, Dr. Gardner and the school he represents believe mainly in the 'Jesus of History' and in 'Jesus in the Experience of Men.'

A considerable part of the teaching of this book will be accepted by most Christians to-day without much hesitation. That the grounds of Christianity must be thoroughly investigated and able to stand the test of reasonable criticism; that the phenomena of personality must be studied in the full light of modern psychology and the bearing of the subconscious and superconscious in religion be taken into account as well as the facts of consciousness itself; that Christian ethics may be shown to be based on the facts of psychology,—these and similar theses with which Professor Gardner is concerned in the earlier part of his book need not be discussed here in detail. On some leading doctrines of Christianity, such as the Fatherhood of God, the work of the Holy Spirit, and the hope of immortality, Dr. Gardner's teaching will at least in part commend itself to the general Christian consciousness, though at some points serious deficiencies will be felt by those who accept the teaching of the New Testament.

Closer examination, however, will show that the 'reconstruction' here attempted leaves much less of the old structure standing than might at first appear. Professor Gardner, as readers of his *Exploratio* and other works remember, shuts out all miracle from his version of Christianity, does not believe in the Resurrection of Christ, and excludes all consideration of it from Christian faith and hope. His views as to the 'Eternal Christ' are but remotely connected with the Church doctrine of the divinity of Christ, and when he says that 'the doctrine of the Incarnation is fundamental,' he adds, 'But it is a process which has always been going on.' He tells us that in the life of Jesus the process of 'incarnation' took a new and nobler form, but also that in that form it has been continued down to our own days by the Christian society. Incarnation is thus emptied of the meaning it has hitherto borne in Christian doctrine. When 'the facts of Christian experience' alone are called on to produce 'a reasonable Christology,' it must be seen that they provide us only with an attenuated faith, a diminished if not an evanescent hope,

and a love which has lost much of its constraining power and passion. Professor Gardner is not a rationalist of the eighteenth-century type, but the 'spiritual' edition of Christianity with which he presents us is a strangely emasculated one.

None the less, we have read Professor Gardner's exposition of his faith with much interest and some profit. His 'reconstruction' will hardly avail for the renewal of the Church or for the evangelization of the world, but this latest presentation of Modernist Christianity contains many thoughts which all who care for the interests of religion may study with great advantage.

The Story of Christ. By Giovanni Papini. Translated by Mary Prichard Agnetti. (Hodder & Stoughton. 10s. 6d. net.)

A Note in this REVIEW for January, 1922, brought Papini's *Story of Christ* to the notice of our readers when it first appeared in Italy, and this beautiful English translation has already won its way to the hearts of a wide circle. Papini does not profess to write as a critic, or to base his work on original research, but he tells the story as one who has been mastered by it. He confesses that he has 'offended Jesus as few others have done,' but a Power greater than his own compelled him to recognize that 'the only hope of the world was to change the spirit of mankind by the religion and person of Jesus Christ.' He has set himself to provide some nutriment appropriate to the soul, to the needs of the century; to make Christ more vividly alive to the eyes of living men. His book is specially intended for those outside the household of faith. Its object has certainly been attained, for over 100,000 copies have been sold in Italy and 27,000 in France. It opens with an arresting picture of the stable in which Jesus was born. He spent His days among simple folk, going on foot from one village to another, or sitting talking to His friends of early days. We see the folk to whom He preached, and have a beautiful unfolding of the beatitudes and the Sermon on the Mount. 'His mission is to reform man, or rather to remake man. With Him a new race begins.' Here is another sentence. 'To Jesus the miracle is but the confluence of two righteous wills, the live contact between the faith of him who acts and him who is acted upon, the co-operation of two forces, the meeting and convergence of saving conditions.' The gospel scenes and the gospel parables are lighted up in a way that adds to them new beauty and fresh significance. There is a monastic flavour in Papini's discussion of marriage. 'The man who has no woman is lonely but free.' The four pages devoted to Martha and Mary are very pleasing. Those on the Sheep and the Goats dwell on 'the code of the Choosing' which 'can have but one title—Mercy.' Since His first advent Christ has continued to live in the poor, in the pilgrims, the sick, the tortured, the outcasts and slaves. Now He is come to pay His debts. 'On the day of His glory the great Lord of

Poverty will award, out of His infinite wealth, each one according to his merit.' The trial of Jesus and the Resurrection scenes come home afresh to us in these pages, and the prayer to Christ which closes the record is an outpouring of the heart in deepest love and reverence. Such a book has a special value for our times, for it is a vision of Jesus seen through eyes that have themselves been enlightened by gazing upon His face.

The Semitic Religions : Hebrew, Jewish, Christian, Moslem.

By David M. Kay, D.S.O., D.D. (T. & T. Clark.
7s. 6d. net.)

These Croall Lectures were delivered in the Moray Aisle of St. Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh, on alternate Sundays between January 28 and April 8, 1928. The first describes Hebrew religion in its primitive and prophetic epoch. For ages the best minds made but little effort to extend their horizons beyond the Bible in narrating the history of the world. Even in the seventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, completed about 1840, the articles concerned with primitive antiquity are still hampered by Ussher's chronology. Two or three of the nations of antiquity began early to write about their fathers; all the rest passed away indifferent and inarticulate. The thoughts of Egypt and Babylon about God and man are surprisingly crude and irrational, but Judah emerged from her trials with a new vitality, due to the living God who had given them the light of life and led them through all their trials and hardships. Professor Kay then turns to Hebrew religion from Cyrus to Vespasian, tracing the fortune and influence of its monotheism and its new conception of duty. The conception of sin forced itself into the interpretation of Hebrew history and the history of the world. The lecture on Judaism closes with a reference to Zionism, holding that 'all that can be wisely offered to Judaism in Palestine is a spiritual home, such as has contented other great communions for centuries. This would suffice to make Jerusalem the abode of peace, a centre of civilization for all the great religions, a home of prayer for all the nations.' Christianity appealed to the Spirit and the lives of its disciples, and its conquest of the soul of Rome was a nobler achievement than victory over her arms. Professor Kay's five years in Constantinople and four years with our army fighting against the Turks give special value to his lecture on the Moslem religion. 'Judged by its fruits, Islam can claim a power over its adherents and a pervasive influence on their lives which contemporary systems attain only among their most zealous groups!' British Christians 'owe to themselves and to Islam the duty of understanding the rise and progress of this religion.' The last lecture shows that the Semitic character has drawn its strength from the obedience to spiritual influences. We have to-day many invitations to examine the inscrutable capacities of the soul. 'Mother Earth has been travailing for some twenty million years to give each human self the chance of achieving goodness. Every failure is a frustration of the biological process; every

victory not only satisfies biology but gives "joy to the angels in heaven." The lectures are of great importance and of sustained interest.

Amore e Luce. By Teodoro Vasserot. (Libreria 'La Luce.' Torrè Pellice. 10 lire.)

To English as well as to Italian readers Papini's *Life of Christ* is now well known and needs no commendation or criticism. A brief notice of another, and less known, study of the same great theme may serve to remind English readers that Protestant writers in Italy are also contributing to the sacred task of setting Jesus Christ before the eyes of their countrymen as the one Saviour and hope of a distressed world. Theodore Vasserot has been the Methodist minister in Parma for many years. He is a contributor to the pages of *Il Risveglio*, the excellent magazine and record of Methodist work in the Italian district. His book now published, *Love and Light*, is a series of expository studies in the teaching of Jesus, springing from the desire to inform and inspire in their Christian faith men called by their country to face the ordeal of war. 'During the war some intelligent young men, expecting to be sent to the front, sought to re-examine with me the great affirmations of the Christian faith. In that faith they wished to discover, or to rediscover, the principle of their conduct, the meaning and purpose of their life, the value of the sacrifice to which they consented, and an immortal hope when the shadow of death should pass near to them.' Out of the notes made for these conversations, and after-reflection upon them, the chapters of the book have been written, with the aim of a wider service to readers 'in search of moral certainty, of a pure faith, of a hope that will not deceive.' The sections of the book are entitled 'The Words of Jesus,' 'The Conscience,' 'The Kingdom of God,' 'The King,' 'The Children of the Kingdom,' 'The Holy Spirit, the Divine Succour of the Believer,' 'The Evangelical Principle in Individual and Social Life.' These titles sufficiently indicate the line of thought. No higher praise can be given to any work of such origin than to say that it fulfils worthily its high purpose. There is freshness of thought in the exposition of the most familiar passages of our Lord's teaching; there is force of Christian character and personality evident even in these written conversations of a wise leader with his fellow seekers for the truth. The Methodist Church in Italy is happy in a ministry so apt to teach, and so capable of preaching by the Press, no less than by the pulpit, 'the words of this life.'

The Philosophy of Religious Experience. By Eric S. Waterhouse, M.A., D.D. (Epworth Press. 6s. net.)

This is a welcome, an arresting, and a difficult book. Dr. Waterhouse is a master of the short sentence. The achievement, in a philosophical

work, has its dangers. The reader has to wrestle with obscurity arising both from brevity of expression and the omission of linkages of thought. The result is, however, that the reader has to work along with the author. He must do his thinking for himself, and not simply be content to listen to what he is told. Dr. Waterhouse holds that thought is static rather than dynamic; that its interpretation must start from conation rather than from cognition; and that behind all our experience lies the will and the values to which it strives to attain.

Starting from this point, the author aims, as he modestly puts it, at 'suggesting that the essential groundwork for a philosophy of religion is provided by the general facts of religious experience.' The judicious reader will thus recognize that the subject of the book is at once narrower and wider than its title. It is exceedingly difficult to do justice to the author's aims in a few brief sentences; the book itself contains in its last few pages a very lucid summary of the whole argument. But we can perhaps help the students of the book (who, we hope, will be very many) to know what to be prepared for, if we say that the author gives us first a psychological analysis of religion; or rather, of religious experience. It rests on a belief (not purely intellectual) 'in an other-than-human order, or God.' This belief is an inference from the data of our consciousness, which indeed 'expresses to us the inner nature of man rather than of God.' That is to say, Dr. Waterhouse lays stress on what God means to us, rather than on the attributes enumerated in theological treatises, of which we can have no direct knowledge.

Then, turning to the philosophical side of the discussion, he asks whether we can argue from the value of our conception of God to its reality. He replies that we can, since the conception is necessary on grounds not only of intellectual but of moral consistency and harmony. This conception, demanded by our religious experience, is also demanded *in a synoptic view of reality*. The argument must be studied to be appreciated. It might be called an example of transfigured pragmatism. It is daring, and the author admits that it is not to be taken as intellectually complete. He would ask if any argument could possess such completeness. But all who have felt the force and the seriousness of the stress laid to-day on human experience and purpose, will rejoice at this resolute carrying of the war, in the assertion that the Ideal is the Real, into the enemy's country and the planting of the standard of religious belief in its stronghold.

The Teaching of the Old Testament in Schools. By George Adam Smith. (Hodder & Stoughton. 6d. net.)

The publication of this address at the conference of University tutors and schoolmasters at Cambridge will be warmly welcomed. It refers to the statement that the influence of the Old Testament 'has waned, that Christian preachers hold off it, and that the youth of our day are forgetting or becoming indifferent to it.' More than forty-five

years' experience of the influence of modern criticism on the writer's faith has been that it has only confirmed and cleared up his belief 'that the Old Testament contains a genuine revelation of God and of His will to mankind.' He dwells on our Lord's criticism of it, and claims that in surveying this hinterland of the New Testament 'and in our application of its resources to ourselves, we must use the liberty which our Lord's discrimination among these resources gives to us, and it is because the methods of modern criticism guide and enlighten us in the use of that liberty that I have called the critical discipline constructive and not destructive.' He says 'Even still mental confusion is caused, and honest hearts are provoked to scepticism, by the dogmas of verbal inspiration and of the equally divine origin and divine character of *all* their contents.' The teacher of the Old Testament must realize that those Scriptures 'are the record of a long and gradual struggle under divine guidance of the mind of Israel from poor beginnings towards ultimate and undeniable faith.' It is an important address with which teachers and preachers will do well to make themselves familiar.

The Apostle Paul and the Modern World. By Francis G. Peabody. (Macmillan & Co. 10s. 6d. net.)

Professor Peabody's volume is an examination of the teaching of Paul in relation to some of the religious problems of modern life. Our times are marked by a new attitude toward the person of Jesus as the master of souls rather than the source of dogma, and the time seems to have come when the same habit of mind must be recognized in dealing with St. Paul. The first three chapters deal with 'The Problem of Paul,' 'The Man,' 'The Letters'; the next three consider the theology, the religion, the ethics of Paul and the modern world; the seventh is headed 'Message and Master.' 'The teaching of Jesus had the quality of timelessness; Paul was a man of his own time, facing its issues and involved in its controversies.' 'How to interpret Paul in terms of the modern world is a problem which presents a commanding challenge to the modern mind. We have a more adequate and trustworthy amount of biographical material as to Paul than exists in the case of almost any other character in ancient history. 'What other figure in history is so many-sided, so masterful, so modern, as this untiring traveller, this persuasive orator, this subtle reasoner, this indomitable, fearless, enduring man?' His letters are the confessions of a great soul and the counsels of a mind of extraordinary susceptibility and mobility. 'To gather all the wisdom of his time into the service of his Lord; to universalize the new faith by appropriating all current philosophy and forms of worship as its adumbration or symbol—such was the epoch-making achievement of Paul's fertile and receptive mind.' Beneath his theology is his religion, beyond his theology is his ethics, and each has its lesson for the modern world. The lofty ideal of the Body of Christ which is the consummation of his religion reiterates our Lord's

prayer in the seventeenth of St. John. 'What is best in Paul brings him nearest to Jesus. The more he escapes from the controversies which beset him and rises into freedom and power the more his words become an echo of the sayings of Jesus, as though the Messenger had met the Master.' Professor Peabody has given us a study of St. Paul which has a beauty and a freshness of its own, and which will be deeply valued by all students of the apostle's life and teaching.

New Testament Teaching in the Light of St. Paul's. By A. H. McNeile, D.D. (Cambridge University Press. 10s. net.)

The Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Dublin here expands the lectures which he delivered to divinity students and others. He believes that the method followed has never been applied systematically to the New Testament as a whole. It places other teachers of the Church in the general movement, and produces a wonderful impression of St. Paul's uniqueness and spiritual powers. The Christian body is the growing expression of Christ, 'and no other human being has ever borne, or can ever bear, the same relation to any movement, organization, or society.' As the principal exponent of this truth St. Paul's work holds the first place in the apostolic presentation of our religion. It takes, however, all sorts of teachers to expound a world-religion, and their Christian Doctrine is here examined in the light of his. The eleven chapters begin with the teaching of Jesus, and pass on to St. James, the Acts, 1 Peter, the Revelation, Jude, 2 Peter, the Pastoral Epistles, Hebrews, St. John's Gospel, and his First Epistle. St. Paul never alludes to our Lord's miracles, while for all three evangelists they form an important part of the proof of what He was. St. Luke, as modern writers are coming increasingly to recognize, is remarkably free from Paulinism. Each chapter is discriminating and suggestive. The note on James v. 14-16 deals with the subject of spiritual healing, bringing out the powers possessed by the 'unconscious' mind and the conditions under which the required faith can be instilled or quickened. The question of 'eschatology' is considered in connexion with the Epistle to the Hebrews. 'We can give to these eschatological ideas a rich spiritual meaning; we know that the Lord is not slack concerning His promise as some men count slackness. But the lapse of nineteen centuries has taught us that He does not intend us to give to His promise the same interpretation as that given by Jews and Christians in the first century.' In the Fourth Gospel we reach the last stage in the development of Christian Doctrine in the New Testament. Its universalism shows how completely St. Paul secured his victory for the Gentiles. St. John is 'one with St. Paul in teaching that the aim and end of the whole divine economy is man's oneness with God through Christ. He is the first writer in the New Testament to show a really sympathetic grasp of the Apostles' conception of the mystical union.' The book certainly takes a fresh view of the subject, and one that is eminently suggestive.

The Speaker's Bible. Edited by the Rev. James Hastings, D.D. 'The Gospel according to St. Luke.' (Aberdeen. 12s. 6d. net.)

The Speaker's Bible is a notable attempt to bring together all the modern interpretation of the Bible that is worth preserving. It fastens on thought rather than on modes of expression, though these are preserved when deemed worthy. The material has been so much condensed, rearranged, and added to that the sources have not been given as a rule, though when published sermons have been used these are found in the 'Index to Modern Sermons' which appears at the end of each volume. There is much new matter, contributed by Dr. Hastings and others. The St. Luke volume covers the ground up to chapter viii. 18. Four hundred and forty-eight double-column pages in the shape of *The Expository Times* give ample scope for a wealth of comment, and it has been selected and presented with the art and skill which made Dr. Hastings a prince in this field. The introductory matter is well presented, and suggests many lines of study. The three columns on literature are full and useful for further investigation. Each feature in the narrative is dwelt on, with many hints for treatment in pulpit and class-room. Such a subject as 'the enrolment' in chapter ii. is dealt with in the light of the latest investigation, and the Christmas scenes at Bethlehem are beautifully portrayed. The poetic quotations are felicitous, and every page will put preachers and teachers in possession of the choicest material for their work.

Mr. Milford publishes for the Yale University Press two volumes (4s. 6d. net each) of the James Wesley Cooper Memorial Foundation. Dr. Cooper, for twenty-five years pastor of the South Congregational Church of New Britain, Connecticut, died in 1916, and his widow established the Fund in 1919 in connexion with his old University. Dr. Newman Smyth writes *A Story of Church Unity* from personal knowledge of the movement, which carries with it 'the promise of another of the days of the Son of Man on the earth.' He gives an interesting account of the initial steps taken in the United States, describes the Lambeth Appeal, and lays stress on 'the providential training of Congregationalism to become a maker of peace.' The National Congregational Council meets this month, and he hopes that it will by some practical act of committal take its 'denominational place in the whole militant and triumphing Church of God.' A fine Catholic spirit pervades the book. The other volume is on *The Teaching Ministry for To-morrow*, by Professor B. W. Bacon. He regards it as the specific, unavoidable task of the Christian University to prove that modernism is not necessarily irreligious; that Christianity in the light of modern discovery proves something greater than that which it was conceived to be a hundred years ago. The teaching ministry must provide a modernism that works, and build up a 'system of religious education worthy of our principles and our inheritance, and commanding the respect of the scholarly

world.' That is the argument, and Professor Bacon dwells with confidence on the work of the Yale Divinity School towards this end.

The Effective Evangelist. By the Rev. Lionel B. Fletcher. (Hodder and Stoughton. 5s. net.) This book has been written to help ministers and all who seek to win others for Christ, and embodies much varied experience in Australia and in this country. Mr. Fletcher aims to set ministers of Christ on fire to include evangelistic work in their regular programme. He has much to say on the need of evangelism and of effective evangelists who would 'revive the whole Church with its multitudinous activities.' Results are to be left with God, with the assurance that every faithful effort made to extend Christ's Kingdom will bear fruit in God's good time. There is a suggestive chapter on 'Personal Preparation,' which recommends preachers to read Wesley's *Journal* and other devotional books. Mr. Fletcher holds that the most valuable evangelists are ministers who are doing their own evangelistic work in their own churches, and for them he gives practical counsels marked by discernment and good sense. 'Work in the Inquiry Room' and 'Garnering the Harvest' are two helpful chapters. Dr. Garvie's 'Foreword' is a strong commendation of a wise and timely book.

Christianity and Culture. By John G. Bowran. (Holborn Publishing House. 5s. net.) The Hartley Lecture of this year is fittingly dedicated to Lady Hartley, 'in admiration and gratitude for her lifelong devotion to the wide human interests which inspired her husband.' It brings out with much felicitous illustration the influence which Christianity has exerted on our literature, and especially on our poetry and fiction, on scientists, artists, and musicians. It shows how the churches have contributed to culture and what Christianity has made of home life. It is a popular treatment of a great theme, and will make a deep impression on thoughtful young readers, whose interests Mr. Bowran has steadily kept in view.—*Personal Religion and the Service of Humanity.* By Helen M. Sturge. (Swarthmore Press. 2s. 6d. net.) This Swarthmore Lecture for 1928 only reaches 55 pages, but it is a great subject suggestively handled. Is there any relation in the nature of things between religion and service? The sudden growth of altruistic feeling and effort synchronized with the widening of the basis of citizenship which began with the French Revolution. A more potent cause was the Evangelical Revival, which by its emphasis on the value of every individual soul inspired men like Lord Shaftesbury. If the religious impulse failed would this spirit of service continue? That subject is dealt with, and the writer asks, What in human experience has been so tremendous a source of unselfish passion as religion? The way in which religion expands personality and the astonishing increase in power to which it leads are well brought out. Disinterested social service is shown to depend on spiritual reality, and to the fellowship in Christ's sufferings and in the joy of His triumph each of us is called.—*England's Reawakening.* By Aylmer Hunter, M.A. (Skeffington and Son.

2s. 6d. net.) This is a barrister's apologia for Anglo-Catholicism, which he describes as 'the Catholic Faith, uncorrupted by Rome, which existed in this country for centuries before the reverberations of the continental Reformation, the tyranny of a Roman Catholic queen, and the instability caused by political vicissitudes, nearly succeeded, but, thank God, not quite, in consigning it for ever to the limbo of lost things.' Mr. Hunter wants 'unity all round,' with the Eastern Church, 'most vitally, in our own ranks,' with Scottish Presbyterians, and 'with the English and American dissenting bodies.' He regards charity, humility, and simplicity as the practical fruits of the Catholic Faith, whether Roman or Anglican. Difficulties in the way of reunion are dealt with in a broad-minded way, and the little book has an interesting Preface by the Duke of Argyll.—*The Epistle of St. Paul to the Colossians*. By the Rev. Maurice Jones, D.D. (S.P.C.K. 5s. net.) The Principal of St. David's College, Lampeter, gave these four lectures at The Oxford Vacation Term for Biblical Study in 1921. They deal with the authorship, purpose, and analysis of the Epistle; 'The Colossian Heresy,' 'The Pauline Antidote—The All-Sufficiency of Christ,' and 'The Christian Life.' Notes are added on special words and passages. That on i. 24 brings out the fact that the sufferings of Christ are not yet complete and that St. Paul has in mind 'the afflictions that are His continuous lot.' As to the Colossian heresy, St. Paul 'found a world upon which the belief in the power and relentless oppression of invisible spirits lay like a nightmare, and he delivered it from a burden that had become unendurable.' It is a scholarly little volume which students of the Epistle will do well to keep before them.—*The Riddle of Life after Death*, by F. A. Fawkes (S.P.C.K., 2s. net), is a layman's study of the subject based on the fact that we can enjoy a spiritual as well as a physical life. That spiritual life is the reality, and if a man possesses it he will live for ever. Some ideals of a future state are described, and Mr. Fawkes gives his conception of the higher service in an original and suggestive way.—*St. Luke and his Gospel*, by J. T. Pinfold, D.D. (Epworth Press, 3s. 6d. net.) This Introduction will send readers with new zest to St. Luke's Gospel. Its picture of the Sinless One sets before us 'the greatest moral miracle the world has ever known.' Dr. Pinfold dwells on the personality of St. Luke, and on his use of his sources, his style, design and catholicity. The chapters on our Lord's humanity and deity are important, and every subject is treated with insight and skill. It is a piece of work which will help many.—*The Christian Way of Life*, by Wilfrid J. Moulton (Epworth Press, 6d. net), is a valuable addition to the *Manuals of Fellowship*. It begins with Christ's ideal for man, then it shows 'The Ideal in Practice' and emphasizes 'The Power of the New Life.' The 'Questionary' is a welcome addition to a stimulating manual.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

John Wesley and the Methodist Societies. By John S. Simon, D.D. (Epworth Press. 18s. net.)

Dr. SIMON'S *John Wesley and the Religious Societies* has been received with great and well-deserved favour, and has encouraged him to prepare a new volume which describes the way in which Wesley laid the foundations of the Methodist Church. The record opens with the separation from the Fetter Lane Society in July, 1740, and with the development of the work at the Foundery. Wesley was both an evangelist and a teacher, and from the beginning of the New Society to the end of his life he pursued with unquenchable zeal a twofold purpose—the conversion of sinners and the growth of believers in holiness. The cleavage caused by Whitefield's Calvinism still further added to Wesley's independent position, and led to a period of consolidation and extension. Then came the introduction of Methodism to the Midlands and the North of England. In his chapter on 'The Rules of the United Societies' Dr. Simon traces the influence of Cave's *Primitive Christianity* on Wesley's mind when he drew them up. 'The Riots' amid which Methodism was born are vividly described, and the various stages of progress marked by the acquisition of West Street Chapel and the evangelization of Cornwall. The chapter on 'The First Conference' throws light on Wesley's doctrine and his churchmanship, and the memorable sermon on 'Scriptural Christianity' preached at Oxford in 1744 is fully dealt with. The national conditions of the time are not overlooked, and 'In the old Book-Room' gives a survey of the literary activities of the Wesleys at this time. The volume covers seven years, which Dr. Simon properly regards as amongst the most formative of any of the periods of Methodist history. He sets the events in their national environment, and shows the wonderful way in which Wesley was led on step by step to the evangelization of England. The story is told with vivid details which stir the imagination and fix it on the memory. The splendid index, prepared by the Rev. John Elsworth, will be greatly appreciated by students.

Celebrities: Little Stories about Famous Folk. By Coulson Kernahan. (Hutchinson & Co. 16s. net.)

There is much in this volume that will delight a large circle of readers. Mr. Kernahan has had a wonderful set of friends, including Philip Marston, Sarah Grand, Lord Roberts, Lord Northcliffe, Mr. Birrell, Sir James Barrie, Ian Maclaren, and a whole galaxy of celebrities, and he helps ordinary folk to see them almost with their own eyes. There is a frankness about his reminiscences which adds greatly to their charm, and an unfailing good temper and kindness which heighten the pleasure one takes in the sketches. The chapter on

Philip Marston and his circle tells us much that we are glad to know about the blind poet and his father, and we share the excitement which Sarah Bernhardt caused by coming three-quarters of an hour late to a lunch at the New Vagabonds, where the Duchess of Sutherland and the Prime Minister, Mr. Balfour, were kept waiting her arrival. With Frederick Locker-Lampson Mr. Kernahan had very close relations, and this led to a friendship with Mr. Birrell, who figures pleasantly in the stories. The anecdotes about King Edward bear witness to his unfailing discernment and tact, and Lord Salisbury's generosity and odd forgetfulness come out in some good stories. With Lord Northcliffe Mr. Kernahan had intimate relations, and no chapter will be scanned more eagerly than that which is devoted to the newspaper magnate. He made Mr. Kernahan a handsome offer to look after the literary side of his publications, but he felt bound to decline that as he had declined the offer of the chief editorship of Cassells. The chapter on Ian Maclaren almost rivals that on Lord Northcliffe. Not the least interesting part of it describes the meeting between Dr. Watson and the son of Robertson of Brighton. Mr. Kernahan had the pleasure of introducing them to each other, and afterwards secured an introduction from Ian Maclaren to *The People's Edition of the Sermons*, in which Robertson was described as the most inspiring preacher of the century. 'The very face of preaching was changed in half the pulpits of the land.' Lord Roberts and Mr. Kernahan had much in common, and the veteran's prophecy as to the Great War was a memorable forecast. The meeting with Baden-Powell at Colchester Oyster Feast and the story of the way the Chief Scout got bewildered on the Underground Railway is very amusing. Hastings and its literary residents have due place in the volume and the reader feels in closing it that he has been in close touch with men and women whose names have long been household words to most of us. We do not wonder at the popularity of such a set of living pictures. A word of thanks is also due for the twelve portraits, which add a vivid touch to the narrative.

Light from Ancient Letters. By Henry G. Meecham, M.A., B.D. (Allen & Unwin. 7s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Meecham confines his attention here to the Oxyrhynchus papyri in volumes i.-xv., which give private letters of the first four centuries. His Introduction brings out the value of these non-literary papyri for the fuller understanding of New Testament language and thought. The artless private letters throw light on the epistles of the New Testament. A brief account of the discoveries of these papyri is followed by detailed studies of the vocabulary and grammar, and by chapters on 'Epistolary Character and Form'; 'Subject-matter and Thought.' The papyri show that the writing of letters was a general practice of the Graeco-Roman age. The New Testament letters are identical with the secular correspondence of their own period in general form and structure, in epistolary phrase and formula. The Egyptian

papyri confirm in some important particulars the historical reliability of the New Testament, and their allusions to bathing, pagan feasts, to bereavement and suffering, are of special interest. 'Whilst the religion of Jesus borrowed the thought-forms and spoke the language of its day, it was as original in its essential message as it was in its inherent character. In the nature of the case it could not remain unaffected by Paganism, Platonism, Stoicism, and the mystery cults. Yet it advanced immeasurably upon any and all of these.' The language of the New Testament is typical in the main of the ordinary colloquial speech of the day, but old words are enriched with new meaning. Mr. Meecham pays 'special homage to the honoured memory of the Rev. Dr. James Hope Moulton, under whose incomparable and genial guidance he was led to take an interest' in this subject. He has pursued the study to excellent purpose in this volume.

Sarah Bernhardt. By Sir George Arthur. (William Heinemann. 6s. net.)

This is an appreciation of the great French actress by an intimate friend who seeks to set forth the personality of one 'to whom the sons and daughters of France will point with perpetual pride, and to whom successive generations of artists will accord a profound salute.' When she first came to London 'she was exquisite, but she was exasperating. The English, however, were proof against it all,' and she came to regard her visits to this country with genuine pleasure. For thirty years she refused to act in Germany, and when in 1908 she yielded, her first appearance was a duel between herself and her hostile audience. 'All scenes in which she had stirred to enthusiasm peoples of every climate were received with icy silence.' Even Teuton obstinacy had to give way, for when the curtain fell, a fat German rose in his place and shouted, 'Whatever else she may be, she is the greatest artist we have seen.' As years passed she became softer and more equable. 'She had been radiant with light, but she had been sadly shaken by storms, often of her own brewing. But even before her prime, she had done much to set her house in order. Where she had kept the world waiting—often out of sheer caprice—she would now be punctual for every engagement.' Her correspondence was now methodically dealt with, and she was accessible and quiet where she had been unapproachable and restless. She concentrated her attention on her work. Slackness and letting things slide were abhorrent to her. Herself she kept girthed for every occasion and braced for every opportunity, and the full service she exacted from those about her was matched by the willingness to spend every ounce of power in the same service. She never played at cards, but on her return from America early in 1918, when there was much agitation on board as to the submarines, though fully aware of the danger, she remained quietly in her cabin, totally absorbed in a game of dominoes with her granddaughter. When her leg had to be amputated she showed dauntless courage

and afterwards took up her work with her old ardour. Sir George Arthur looks upon her as 'a sovereign spirit,' and as a study of the development of character his book has special value and interest.

Oxford Outside the Guide-Books. By Falconer Madan, M.A. (Blackwell. 3s. 6d. net.)

This is a happy attempt to supply something more about the City of Oxford and the University than is fairly within the scope of a Guide-book. It traces their growth, the course of student life in mediæval times, the centres of historic interest, and the features of the Colleges in the order of their foundation. It is probable that a small religious house, founded perhaps about 720-730 A.D. on the site of the present Cathedral, was the first important feature of early Oxford. The city enters into real history in 912, and Mr. Madan gives various facts which indicate its early prosperity. At the Norman Conquest we know that it had eight churches, and there were probably more. Interesting chapters are devoted to mediæval education in Oxford, 1300-1500, and the life of the students. Oxford in the Civil War has a chapter to itself, and details are given as to the foundation, government, and income of each College. The Oxford stories are a very amusing set, and the maps and illustrations deserve special commendation. Such a book will be welcomed by all lovers of Oxford, and they will learn much from it.

The Story of a Nonconformist Library. By H. McLachlan, M.A., D.D. (Longmans & Co. 7s. 6d. net.)

The library is that of the Unitarian Home Missionary College at Summerville, of which the nucleus was formed in Marsden Street, Manchester, where the institution found a home in 1854. It had no endowment till 1922, but it had generous friends, whose gifts are here recorded. A full account is given of the books now in the library, of its seventeenth-century tracts, and of the earliest Unitarian periodical, published in 1769. 'Next to the Bible, biography bulks largest in the catalogue, and its catholicity is rather remarkable.' The latter part of the book deals with 'Liberal Dissent a Hundred Years Ago,' 'The Manchester Socinian Controversy,' and 'The Christian Brethren Movement,' founded by Joseph Barker, of whom a full account is given.

The Anthropolical Society publishes various pamphlets by Dr. Rudolf Steiner. One is on *Goethe as the Founder of a New Science of Aesthetics* (1s.); another gives two lectures on *Knowledge and Intuition* (1s. net), which he delivered in London; *The Bible and Wisdom* (1s.) and *Christmas* (6d.) are on the same lines, and Adolf Arenson studies the spiritual investigations of Dr. Steiner under the title *The History of the Childhood of Jesus* (2s.). Spiritual science is to sweep away doubts and lead along the path of exact clairvoyance, or knowledge of the spiritual world gained by direct contact, to man's regaining a religious sense in all things. That seems to be the gist of the teaching, which evidently has its own circle of disciples.

GENERAL

The Philosophy of Plotinus. By William Ralph Inge, C.V.O., D.D. In two volumes. Second Edition. (Longmans, Green & Co. 16s. net.)

WE are glad to welcome a second edition of Dean Inge's Gifford Lectures, to which we devoted a main article in April, 1919. There are hardly any alterations. Reference is made in the new Preface to certain works that have appeared since the lectures were written, and a happy emendation is suggested for a passage (*Ena* iii. 9. 8) which has baffled all the editors. The dean had worked on the subject, with many interruptions, for about seventeen years, and the study has been a moral as well as an intellectual discipline. He has not found that Plotinus 'fails his disciples in good fortune or in bad. Like Wordsworth, he is an author whom a man may take up in trouble and perplexity, with the certainty of finding strength and consolation. He dwells in a region where the provoking of all men and the strife of tongues cannot annoy us; his citadel is impregnable, even when the slings and arrows of fortune are discharged against ourselves or our country. For he insists that spiritual goods alone are real; he demonetizes the world's currency as completely as the Gospels themselves.' He is 'the classical representative of mystical philosophy. No other guide even approaches Plotinus in power and insight and profound spiritual penetration.' The first five lectures deal with his century and his forerunners; then the chief features of his philosophy are considered: the World of Sense, the Soul and its Immortality, the Spiritual World, the Absolute, Ethics, Religion, and Aesthetics. 'Concluding Reflections' close the study of one who is a disciple, though not an uncritical one. He has given us a great work, and it is a pleasure to find how deeply it has been appreciated.

Chambers's Encyclopaedia: A Dictionary of Useful Knowledge. New Edition. Edited by David Patrick, M.A., LL.D., and William Geddie, M.A., B.Sc. Volume I., A to Beatty; Volume II., Beau to Catty (W. & R. Chambers. 20s. net per volume.)

Chambers's Encyclopaedia has a high reputation, and this new issue will sensibly increase it. 'It strives to be at once comprehensive, compact, accurate, lucid, readable, and handy for reference. The larger themes are broken up into many articles, but provision is throughout made for securing a systematic conspectus of the whole subject.' The list of contributors of the more important articles inspires confidence in the judgement of the editors. A great many of

their articles are new ; others which appeared in earlier issues have been so thoroughly revised by their authors as to be virtually new. The article on Austria shows the effect of the great War on the territory and the constitution, and has two large maps which mark the Czecho-Slovakia and Jugo-Slavia boundaries. The articles on 'The Bible,' 'Bible Translations and Biblical Criticism,' are packed with information, and are distinguished by sound sense as well as exact scholarship. The criticism of Baur and the Tübingen School is admirable. The article on Bulgaria makes use of unpublished official sources. Mr. A. C. Benson has three discriminating columns on Matthew Arnold. Subjects like Africa and America receive careful and ample treatment, and have excellent maps. The salient facts about towns like Bradford, Bristol, and Bath are clearly set out, and such scientific articles as 'Bacteria,' by Professor J. A. Thomson, add distinctly to the value of the Encyclopaedia. The ten volumes contain over 80,000 articles by about 1,000 contributors. There are over 3,500 engravings and a fine set of coloured maps. The type is clear and the volumes are comfortable to handle, though they contain more than 800 pages. No encyclopaedia is more admirably suited to the needs of busy men, or more carefully and skilfully brought up to date.

The Cambridge University Press has issued Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch's books *On the Art of Writing* and *Studies in Literature* ; *First Series* in a very neat pocket edition at 5s. net each. This is the seventh edition of the former and the fourth of the *Studies*. Sir Arthur seriously proposes that in Cambridge they should '*practise writing*,' not only for their own improvement, but to 'try to make appropriate, perspicuous, accurate, persuasive writing a recognizable hall-mark of anything turned out by our English school.' It is a book that will give budding authors a lofty conception of style, and help them to face the difficulties of prose and verse with insight and courage. Style is curiously personal and individual, yet there is always a norm somewhere, in literature and art, as in morality, and 'though personality pervades Style and cannot be escaped, the first sin against Style as against good manners is to obtrude or exploit personality.' Style is the power to touch with ease, grace, precision, any note in the gamut of human thought or emotion.' The *Studies in Literature* contain critical estimates of some seventeenth-century poets such as Donne, Herbert, Vaughan, Traherne, Crashaw, and others ; with chapters on the poetry of Meredith, Thomas Hardy, Coleridge, Matthew Arnold, and essays on 'Patriotism in English Literature,' 'The Horatian Model in English Verse,' ballads, and 'The Commerce of Thought.' It gives matured estimates of some of our great masters by one whose own work entitles him to an opinion and who knows how to make his analysis and investigation a stimulus to personal study. We are grateful not only to the author for his discriminating studies, but to the University Press for these attractive pocket editions.

The Sacred Dance: A Study in Comparative Folklore. By W. O. E. Oesterley, D.D. (Cambridge University Press. 8s. 6d. net.)

This is an attempt to estimate the part played by the sacred dance among the peoples of antiquity as well as among the uncultured races in modern times ; to account for its origin ; to note the occasions on which it was performed ; and to indicate the purpose of its performance. Early man regarded it as indispensable at all the crises of life—initiation, puberty, marriage, burial. It was looked on as a means of propitiating the supernatural powers, a means of communication with the deity, and of obtaining good crops, fruitful marriages, and opening communication with the departed. The sacred dance appears to have been induced as a means of honouring what were regarded as the supernatural powers and of 'showing off' before them. It was an imitation of what supernatural powers did, and was believed to be the means of union with them. 'Uncultured man believed that in dancing to such an extent that he became unconscious he was not only doing something that was honouring to the deity, not only offering something in the nature of sacrifice, but that he was, above all, making his body a fit temporary abode for his God.' Many peoples also believed that by a dance in which the chief characteristic was high leaps the corn would grow high. Dr. Oesterley describes the sacred dance among the Israelites, the Old Testament terms for dancing, and gives much striking detail as to dances in honour of supernatural powers among Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, and some uncultured races. He describes the ritual dance round a sacred object and the ecstatic dance performed as the outcome of strong religious emotion. Dances at vintage, harvest, and other festivals, dances in celebration of victory, and at marriage and burial, are dealt with in an illuminating way. By personating the deceased in the mourning dance it was believed by some that he could be 'induced to return to his friends and dance with them, greatly to the comfort of the relatives. The idea is about on a level with the Roman belief in the presence of a man's ancestors, when their images are carried in the funeral procession.' It is a fascinating branch of folklore, which throws much light on primitive thought and feeling, and Dr. Oesterley's investigation of it is of peculiar interest.

The Growth of the City State. By W. R. Halliday, B.A., B.Litt. (Hodder & Stoughton. 7s. 6d. net.)

This is the third volume in the *Ancient World Series*, issued by the University Press of Liverpool. The lectures are intended to be read with the text book, and Professor Halliday supplies extended notes to each lecture which may tempt students to look up the references. The first three lectures deal with Geographical Influences : 'The Migrations of Peoples,' 'The Greeks and the Sea,' 'The Western Mediterranean.' The importance of such a survey comes out in the

fact that 'man, like other living beings, must adapt himself to his environment or perish.' The Athenians put down piracy, and when its sea-power was destroyed disorder reigned throughout the Eastern Mediterranean. Pirates and privateers abounded. When Rome rose to power she 'protected the intellectual discoveries of Greece and kept the world at peace for sufficient time to allow civilization to take deep root in Western Europe.' The growth of the city state, the early constitutional development of Athens and of Rome, are the subjects of the next three lectures. Then we reach 'The Land Question,' which forms the background of the city state. Agriculture in Italy went from bad to worse after the Gracchan attempt at reform. Economic and social conditions were overwhelmingly on the side of the great estate, and all attempts to repeople Italy with small holders were unsuccessful. The last lecture, which aims at describing social conditions in Athens in the fifth century B.C., is of very special interest. The whole treatment of the subject is fresh and suggestive.

Cobbett: Selections, with Hazlitt's Essay and other Critical Estimates. With an Introduction and Notes by A. M. D. Hughes. (Clarendon Press. 3s. 6d. net.)

Cobbett well deserved the honour of this inclusion in 'The Clarendon Series of English Literature,' and the selection has been made with taste and skill. It covers the story of his life, which is a continual incentive to pluck and industry; it passes to his experiences in America, and then comes to the passages on 'The Face of England' which keep his memory green for most of us. The two last sets of selections describe 'The State of the People' and 'A Chapter of Judgements,' which include wise advice on temperance and early rising and strong words on the failure of the English gentleman, poverty and labour, the labourer and the land. 'A Garden in Surrey' is an account of Mr. Drummond's park at Albury, with its row of yew-trees forming a delightful walk a quarter of a mile long. Some ill-natured persons would say that Cobbett wanted a revolution that would turn Mr. Drummond out of the place and put him into it. 'Such persons will hardly believe me, but upon my word I do not. From everything that I hear Mr. Drummond is very worthy of possessing it himself, seeing that he is famed for his justice and his kindness towards the labouring classes, who, God knows, have very few friends amongst the rich.' Lovers of Guildford will be pleased to see his tribute to the town, 'which (taken with its environs) I, who have seen so many, many towns, think the prettiest, and, taken all together, the most agreeable and most happy-looking that I ever saw in my life.' There is an excellent portrait as frontispiece. The Introduction helps one to understand Cobbett's long fight for the peasants of England, and four pages give a list of the chief events of his life. Hazlitt's essay is full of sympathy with the man and appreciation of his style. Carlyle says 'The pattern John Bull of his century, strong as the rhinoceros, and with singular humanities and

genialities shining through his thick skin, is a most brave phenomenon.' Tributes are quoted from Sir H. Lytton Bulwer, Thorold Rogers, Miss Mitford, and others.

The Fauna of British India: Oligochaeta. By J. Stephenson, M.B., D.Sc. (Taylor & Francis.)

Exactly forty years have elapsed since the Oligochaeta of India began to be studied along the lines of modern research. In 1883 appeared an article by Beddard in the *Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist.* entitled 'A Note on Some Earthworms from India.' Since that year exactly a hundred papers and monographs, dealing more or less directly with the subject, have appeared. Among the contributors are two well-known Italian helminthologists, three French, three German, together with some half-dozen English authorities, and a similar number of Indian students who have during the present century been trained in the science of zoology. The three outstanding authorities are Beddard, Michaelsen, and the author of the volume under review, whose qualifications for the task are evident on every page. He has here recorded about 850 species of earthworms and their allies, belonging to seven families and upwards of fifty genera. Of these nearly one half were originally described by Dr. Stephenson himself, while of the remainder Michaelsen diagnosed about a hundred. Of these different species of worms a dozen of the small fresh-water forms are widely distributed over the globe, and even occur in Great Britain. Of the terrestrial forms also a similar number are now cosmopolitan, having been largely distributed by human agency. We are left with upwards of 300 Indian worms belonging to two great families which are not represented in our native fauna, and are only known to English zoologists by the specimens which are to be found in Kew Gardens, Chelsea, Oxford, and other botanical gardens where foreign plants are cultivated. In addition to the very full bibliography, the careful diagnoses, and the many valuable charts and text figures, we have an introduction of forty pages which is of exceeding value. It shows the student how to diagnose and identify his material, guides him in the matter of distribution and classification, and supplies interesting notes on the bionomics of Indian worms. There are only one or two points upon which criticism might be expended, the work having been most carefully executed throughout. It is of an epoch-marking character. The illustrations are of special value.

The Ethics of Gotama Buddha. By C. H. S. Ward. (2s.) This is an appreciation and criticism by a missionary who has laboured for more than twenty years in parts of Ceylon where Buddhism has been most active and aggressive. He has had the fullest opportunities of studying Buddhism and observing its effect upon the life and thought of the people. He is also familiar with the standard expositions of Buddhist teaching. His object was to point out the 'way' by which men could save themselves. There are two planes of morality,

the lower for everyday morality and the higher for the elect few who have resolved to attain Nirvana. It claims to be a religion of pure reason with antitheses of Ignorance and Knowledge. Buddha did not believe in God, and sin had no place in his system. 'Buddhism is pure egotism. Here is no room for love, self-sacrifice, mercy, forgiveness, but only for law, and a strict and ruthless justice.' Nirvana is a delusion. 'Buddhism holds out no hope for man—even the negative hope of non-existence has turned out to be a delusion.' The exposition of Buddhist doctrine is illuminating, and the series which Mr. Ward is bringing out promises to be of great value to students.

Representative Government and a Parliament of Industry.
By Herman Finer. (Allen & Unwin. 7s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Finer's position in the Public Administration Department of the London School of Economics, gives special importance to this study of the problems of Representative Government. Two visits to Germany have made him familiar with the creation and subsequent operation of the German Federal Economic Council which has had to deal with some important problems during its two and a half years history. Mr. Finer was impressed by the courage of Berlin amid its deep distress in 1922. It was a toiling people, a constructive people, and, on the whole, a very kindly people. He holds that in our country the old machinery of party government, upon which Parliamentary and Cabinet government rest, was breaking down before the war, and that we still talk of representative democracy when there is neither representation nor democracy. He hopes that his account of the German Economic Council may help towards a better perception of our own problems and towards their solution, and argues for the establishment of a Parliament of Industry alongside the House of Commons. It would form a kind of permanent Royal Commission dealing with problems 'before the unreasoning heat of conflict made peaceful settlement impossible; all sides would have heard each other, and respective standpoints and effective material for argument would be ready to the hands of the Government, the House of Commons, and the public.'

Poems of Science, by K. A. Knight Hallows (Erskine Macdonald), gives twenty sonnets due to direct observation of Nature during seventeen years spent as an officer of H.M. Geological Survey in India and Burma. He has read and meditated on the stone leaves which tell the story of the earth; watched the distant mountains wrapped in purple vapours, and learnt much from flowers and shells. It is a new vein for a poet, and it is worked out with skill and insight.—*Our Girls' Best Annual*. Edited by Alys Chatwyn (Epworth Press. 8s. 6d. net.) This is a wonderful storehouse of tales of school and home, of sport and adventure. It has pictures that strike the imagination, problems that exercise one's wits, songs and poems with life and fun in them. It is a handsome volume, full of good things,

and surprisingly cheap.—*Breeds of Cattle and How to Know Them*. By Edward C. Ash. (Epworth Press. 1s. 6d. net.) This is a picture gallery of British pedigree cattle, and its interest is deepened by skilled explanations of the history and special points of each breed. The fine Dexter bull and cow represent the smallest cattle in the world, and the Kerry bull and cow show how much the Irish cotter owes to a breed which will thrive, yield rich milk, and even grow fat where some larger cattle would die.—*A Book about Aircraft*, by Ernest Protheroe (2s. net), describes the evolution of the balloon, the problem of flying, and the development of the aeroplane. There is a thrill about the chapter on Aircraft in Warfare, and every side of the subject is dealt with in a way that will greatly interest all readers. *From Ceylon to Hong Kong* (1s. 6d. net), is also by Mr. Protheroe. The history of each place is traced, and a good idea given of its climate, products and inhabitants. Both books are well illustrated.—Dr. Ballard's *Total Abstinence and True Temperance* and *The Christian Churches and Prohibition* (1s. net each) are spirited replies to a work by Joseph Ingle. The first is concerned with the general question of Total Abstinence; the second deals with the arguments for and against Prohibition. There is a whole arsenal here for Temperance advocates. All four books come from the Epworth Press.—*The Three Boughs*, by Clarice M. Covell (Birmingham: Merton Press, 2s. 6d.). From the three boughs of motherhood and human life; of rural England; and of wonder, uncertainty and pain, three sets of poems shoot forth. They are dainty works, tender and beautifully phrased. The writer has a true gift.

Periodical Literature

BRITISH

Edinburgh Review (July).—In 'The Future of Tropical Australia' Mr. Gisborne shows that the political supremacy of the European nations over the coloured races is now sensibly weakened, and in regard to Asia at least, the tide of both physical and economic domination is likely soon to turn. He pleads for a modification of the 'White Australia' policy, and holds that British subjects from one part of the Empire should be invited to assist British subjects in another. That would liberate the white manual labourer in tropical Australia from exhausting and degrading toil, and give him new and extensive opportunities for obtaining well-paid and responsible employment. Sir F. Mott writes on 'The Biological Foundations of Human Character.' He seeks 'to supplement the biological foundations of the whole inborn character structure in the light of recent research, especially in relation to theories based upon new work upon the reproductive and endocrine glands and the involuntary nervous system.'

Hibbert Journal (July).—The opening article is commemorative of Renan, the centenary of whose birth is being observed this year. The tendency to eulogize is now perhaps as excessive as the denunciation with which the amiable French sceptic was assailed in his lifetime. Professor Broad writes appreciatively of 'Butler as a Theologian,' noting, of course, that arguments based on Deistic premisses in the eighteenth century do not avail against Agnostics to-day. Professor Whitehead's paper on the 'Rhythmic Claims of Freedom and Discipline' is an admirable contribution towards what may be called the philosophy of education. An instalment of G. M. Sargeaunt's 'Studies in the Laws of Plato' deals with 'Man as God's Playfellow.' Other noteworthy articles are 'Early Conceptions of Law in Nature,' by Dr. J. E. Carpenter, 'Miracle in the Old Testament,' by Professor J. E. Macfadyen, and 'Ita De Trinitate Sentiat,' by the Rev. Kenneth Wyche. But perhaps the outstanding feature of the number is that in it the *Hibbert Journal* attains its majority, the first number having appeared in October, 1902. During this period the Journal has published over a thousand articles on religious and philosophical subjects, and, as the Editor pathetically adds, has declined to publish many times that number! The high aims with which this able periodical started its career have been fully maintained, and the breadth, freedom, and variety of its contents have been greatly appreciated by a widening constituency. It is announced that the Editor, Dr. L. P. Jacks, will in future contribute to each number an editorial article dealing with 'a philosophical problem suggested by the march of events.' We offer our best

wishes for the success of a Journal which has already done so much to stimulate interest in theological and philosophical inquiry.

Holborn Review (July).—The Rev. J. C. Mantripp reviews Dr. Adams Brown's instructive work on *The Church in America*, the value of which for Protestant Christians everywhere has been generally recognized. The Rev. E. W. Smith, in 'Education of the African,' summarizes the results of the important 'African Education Commission,' criticizing them by saying that the keyword of the plans advocated is adaptation, but that the commission does not answer the question What is the African to be adapted to? An interesting paper follows on 'The Poems of Rupert Brooke' by the Rev. R. W. Callin. 'Between the Years,' by C. Williamson, is a brief study of the Victorian age. Other articles are 'Islamic Influence on Jesuit Origins,' by Dudley Wright, 'Adam Smith and David Ricardo,' by A. N. Shimmin, and 'Thomas Becon,' by G. K. Dorey. The 'main' articles, however, in this Review give an imperfect idea of its value. The accomplished Editor, Dr. Peake, puts his own stamp on each number under the headings 'Editorial Notes' and 'Current Literature.' The Notes in this number deal somewhat fully, and very trenchantly, with Dr. Fitchett's *Where the Higher Criticism Fails*, and in reviewing current literature Dr. Peake discusses *Old Testament Prophecy*, Bishop Headlam's *Life of Christ*, and other theological books of great interest. Other book reviews by other writers, we hasten to add, are able and thoughtful, and contribute to maintain the high character of this excellent Review.

Expository Times (July).—The 'Notes of Recent Exposition' continue the tradition of ability and interest established by the late Dr. James Hastings. Dr. Stanley A. Cook in his brief paper on 'The Servant of the Lord' finds in Isaiah liii. 'a religious genius, a wonderful figure in a wonderful age,' as unknown as his work is remarkable. Dr. J. A. Hutton writes with characteristic sympathy and insight on 'The Breaking-Point'—a study of the seventy-third Psalm. A very able paper on a timely subject, 'Religious Experience and the New Psychology' by the Rev. F. J. Rae, is worth far more than the low price of this periodical. Dr. A. Plummer continues his account of the Apocryphal Gospels, and under the titles 'In the Study' and 'Contributions and Comments' some excellent material for preachers is to be found.

Church Quarterly Review (July).—'The Diary of a Somersetshire Incumbent' gives many glimpses of John Skinner of Camerton, who held the living from 1800 to 1889. He collects his tithes, visits the sick, busies himself in collecting relief for the Irish famine, and rejoices over the girl choir who pleased him much more than 'the great bulls of Basan in the gallery used to do, who though never in tune or time, were so highly conceited of their own abilities they thought of nothing else the whole time of service.' Dr. Rigg, Vicar

of Beverley, basis an article on Dr. Garvie's 'Beloved Disciple.' Nothing there said would cause him to change his view that, 'if not the direct author, John the son of Zebedee had a sufficiently large hand in the composition of it, to justify his disciples in ascribing it to him.' 'Links between Dante and Duns Scotus,' 'Pascal' and a brief notice of 'Samuel Butler' by Dr. Nairnes, add to the interest of a capital number.

Cornhill Magazine (July, August).—Personal reminiscences of Rodin by his private secretary describe the daily life of the sculptor, whose orderliness in the arrangement of his papers was remarkable. He was in many respects a modest man, who only allowed himself to speak with authority and defiance on his own branch of art. He had so often been cheated or taken advantage of by his previous secretaries that he was specially grateful for the new-comer's exactness. 'High Trespass,' which describes the contents of an old work-box, is of great interest, and Mr. Hewlett's paper on La Bruyère makes us realize the loss English letters have sustained in his death.

Science Progress (July).—'Some Chemists of Islam,' by E. J. Holmyard, gives some interesting facts about the great chemist Geber, whom it identifies with Jabir, who flourished at the court of Harun-al-Rashid. In the Arabic works he describes the reduction of metals, the preparation of white lead, cinnabar, and verdigris, and also describes methods of dyeing and waterproofing cloths, &c. His fame spread throughout Islam, and there is scarcely a single later chemist who does not mention him. A hundred years later Al-Razi, a Persian physician, was another outstanding chemist. The Arab chemists had a thoroughly sound scientific outlook, and men like Jabir and Al-Razi based their theories firmly upon observation and experiment. Professor MacBride, in 'The Present Position of the Darwinian Theory,' thinks that the Darwinian theory of evolution is as securely based as ever, and that it has withstood all the assaults of Mutationism and Mendelism.

Poetry (June, July).—The study of Robert Bridges' poetry by Lorna K. Collard is a feature of these two numbers. She says there is 'a small but ever-widening group of poetry-lovers which holds him to be, if not among those who write great poetry, at least among those who write true poetry—which is almost as rare. Those who have slowly grown to love his poems—slowly, because theirs is not the compelling, aggressive music of drums and cymbals, but the elusive pipes of Pan—remain captured by their extreme beauty.' Reference is made to the number, beauty, and perfection of his metaphors. His best similes are in his love-poems, and 'the more one reads of his poetry the more one becomes convinced that he is the Poet of Beauty and the Poet of Joy.'

The Congregational Quarterly (July).—Editorial Notes deal with such subjects as the Rev. Sidney M. Berry's appointment as Secretary of the Congregational Union. Dr. Rowland's 'Personal Memories of Prominent Ministers' include his own father, James Rowland of Henley, 'once a name to conjure with.' Many famous preachers appear in the article. Dr. Rowlands thinks Henry Ward Beecher was the greatest orator he ever heard. Articles on 'The Mind of Paul,' 'The American Churches,' are included in this varied and interesting number. Mr. Birrell's 'Daniel de Foe' is a capital study which is well entitled to the place of honour in the number.

The Macrocosm.—The summer number is sold on behalf of the Braille and 'Servers of the Blind' League. Homes are to be opened at Reigate for defective blind children, and Miss Ellen Terry, the President, makes special appeal on their behalf. Striking illustrations, short poems, stories, and other articles make this a very attractive number.

AMERICAN.

Journal of Religion (May-June).—Professor Cadoux, of Yorkshire Independent College, opens this number by a discriminating examination of 'The Christian Concern with History.' Professor Shirley Case, of Chicago, describes the 'Art of Healing in Early Christian Times,' and says that 'Christianity proved itself capable of ministering to one of the most insistent demands within the life of the contemporary Graeco-Roman world.' Another article, written by Dr. E. B. Harper, Director of Religious Education, deals with modern nervous disorders and the ways in which 'mental healing' may be forwarded by the skilled minister of to-day who establishes something like 'a medical confessional.' Professor K. J. Saunders, a recognized authority on the subject, continues his articles on 'Buddhism in China,' and sums up his conclusions on the influence of Chinese Buddhism and the endeavour now being made to 'clothe Buddhism in modern garments and to adapt it to modern needs.' Principal A. M. Sanford gives an affirmative answer to the question, 'Did Jesus Call Himself the Son of Man?' in reply to the arguments for the negative adduced by the Rev. Carl S. Patton in a recent number of this Review. The section 'Current Events and Discussions' contains, as usual, very interesting and informing notes.

Bibliotheca Sacra (July).—The late Professor Harper investigates the relations which subsisted between the two natures of Christ during the period of His humiliation. His position is that if Jesus was not divine we are forced to the unthinkable conclusion that the Christian experience of the centuries must be rejected as empty delusion. If Jesus was not divine (1) 'God has permitted the supreme lie of history to draw the world to Himself and to nurture the highest type

of goodness. But this is as absurd as to say that men are nourished by deadly poison'; (2) 'Our ideas of God and goodness are directly opposed to fact. This would be to enthrone vice and encourage devil worship. If we cannot subscribe to either of these two conclusions, then we must take another premiss and confess that the Bible and Christian experience are true, and that Jesus Christ is, indeed, the only begotten Son of God.'

Methodist Review (July-August).—The first article, by Dr. E. L. Eaton, is entitled 'Between the Lines in the Book of Acts.' It asks the question, 'Is Christianity a Reformed Judaism?' and emphasizes the influence of Judaizers upon the primitive Christian Church. Professor Faulkner, of Drew Seminary, in answering the question, 'Shall we discard Greek?' says, 'You can get along without Greek. You can dispense with Shakespeare and the Bible. But both will still live and offer their unsurpassed treasures. So with the Greeks.' Dr. A. E. Day describes 'More Methodist Needs,' uttering 'A Voice from the Crowd.' He pleads for frankness and full and free discussion in the churches. Professor L. G. Rohrbaugh writes on 'Positive Values in Human Experience,' elucidating that much abused word 'values.' Other articles are 'Salvaging Civilization,' 'Methodism and the Community Church,' and 'What think ye of Christ? Whose son is He?' Valuable material of great variety is to be found in the subordinate sections, 'Notes and Discussions,' 'The House of the Interpreter,' 'The Arena,' and 'Book Notices.'

FOREIGN

Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Theologiques.—In addition to its usual excellent notices of recent books, the April issue contains two extended articles of special interest to students of divinity—the one on 'Le titre "Kyrios" et la Dignité Royale de Jésus,' and the other on 'La Réalité de la Grâce dans nos Âmes.' There is also a full page review of Mr. Watkin-Jones's work on *The Holy Spirit in the Mediaeval Church*, published last year by the Epworth Press.

Calcutta Review (July).—Mr. Chapman, of the Calcutta Imperial Library, writes on 'E. J. Thompson's Poetry.' He has laid upon himself the charge of studying one poet, and has chosen Mr. Thompson. He says that 'when he is most himself, his mind naturally thinks in images,' and quotes in illustration the poems about the Indian banian and the 'ancient thorn.' 'Of descriptive poetry, which better suits our too earth-loving paces, Mr. Thompson's volumes are full, and it is often so happy that, though the poems do not stir that deepest passion in us that great poetry stirs, they are revelations of the secrets of things.' Mr. Thompson's range strikes him as wider than is at all common among the writers of to-day.

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